



This is a contribution from *Cultus: the Intercultural Journal of Mediation and Communication* 2020: 13

© **Iconesoft Edizioni Gruppo Radivo Holding**

This electronic file may not be altered in any way.

The author(s) of this article is /are permitted to use this PDF file to generate printed copies to be used by way of offprints, for their personal use only.

.....

Cultus

THE JOURNAL OF INTERCULTURAL
MEDIATION AND COMMUNICATION

MEDIATING NARRATIVES OF MIGRATION

2020, Volume 13

ICONESOFT EDIZIONI - GRUPPO RADIVO HOLDING
BOLOGNA – ITALY

CULTUS

the Journal of Intercultural Mediation and Communication

MEDIATING NARRATIVES OF MIGRATION

2020, Volume 13

GUEST EDITORS

Raffaella Merlini
(University of Macerata, Italy)

Christina Schäffner
(Professor Emerita, Aston University, Birmingham, United Kingdom)

EDITORS

David Katan *(University of Salento)*
Cinzia Spinzi *(University of Bergamo)*

ICONESOFT EDIZIONI – RADIVO HOLDING
BOLOGNA

Table of Contents

Narrating narratives of migration through translation, interpreting and the media <i>Raffaella Merlini and Christina Schäffner</i>	3
A Conversation about Translation and Migration <i>Moira Inghilleri and Loredana Polezzi</i>	24
Easy Eatalian Chefs of Italian origin hosting cookery series on British television and mediating their cultural heritage <i>Linda Rossato</i>	44
The mediation of subtitling in the narrative construction of migrant and/or marginalized stories <i>Alessandra Rizzi</i>	70
Interlinguistic and intercultural mediation in psychological care interviews with asylum seekers and refugees: Handling emotions in the narration of traumatic experience <i>Francisco Raga, Dora Sales and Marta Sánchez</i>	94
Interpreting Distress Narratives in Italian Reception Centres: The need for caution when negotiating empathy <i>Mette Rudvin and Astrid Carfagnini</i>	123
From Italy with love: narratives of expats' political engagement in a corpus of Italian media outlets <i>Gaia Aragrande and Chiara De Lazari</i>	145

Journalistic translation in migrant news narratives: Representations of the <i>Diciotti Crisis</i> in British news brands <i>Denise Filmer</i>	169
“Language barrier” in UK newspapers 2010-2020: Figurative meaning, migration, and language needs <i>Federico Federici</i>	194
To Translate or not To Translate: Narratives and Translation in the UK Home Office <i>Elena Ruiz-Cortés</i>	220
Notes on Contributors	239

**Easy *E*atalian:
Chefs of Italian origin hosting cookery series
on British television and mediating
their cultural heritage**

Linda Rossato
Ca' Foscari, University of Venice

Abstract

Drawing on an analysis of a sample of extracts from TV cookery programs hosted by Antonio Carluccio, Gennaro Contaldo and Giorgio Locatelli, three Italian chefs who under different circumstances chose the UK as their elective professional home-country, the present paper sets out to investigate three cases of recent (after the 1970s and after the 1980s) migration to the UK linked to the food industry. Well-known London restaurateurs, but also TV personae, these three chefs have become very popular both in the UK and in Italy via their British TV cookery series. This paper looks for narration patterns that relate to migration, redemption and success in the TV series analysed, and also addresses the topic of how culture-specific contents of the Italian food tradition have been retained, erased or adapted in order to appeal to UK recipients who do not share the cultural or the gastronomic background of the chefs' country of origin. One further objective of the study is to investigate if the TV chefs' representation of a sense of identity and belonging connect more to the Italian community at home or to the Italian-British community in the UK, and how these aspects have been conveyed through such culturally connoted programs as TV cookery series. In order to obtain a more thorough picture of the factors involved, the paper also considers cookbooks accompanying the TV series along with other cookbooks published by the chefs on Italian cuisine.

Keywords: recent Italian migration to the UK; migration narrative; mediated Italian food culture; authenticity; identity

1. Introduction

The presence of an Italian population in the UK and Ireland is the result of a history of emigration that reached considerable proportions at the turn of the 19th century, decreased between the two World Wars, rose

again after World War II, dropped and then stabilized in the 1970s when migrants who returned to Italy outnumbered the new arrivals (Fortier, 2000: 26). Recent socio-demographic research has shown how the flow of Italian migration to the UK has changed considerably since the beginning of the 21st century. Different waves of mass migration to the UK after the reunification of Italy up to the advent of fascism and after World War II were motivated by poor economic conditions in Italy which forced people, mainly blue-collar workers, to leave their home country in search of a better life and improved working conditions. A new wave of white-collar migration has been taking place more recently, up to the turning point of the political crisis caused by Brexit, whose effects and consequences on Italian migration are beyond the scope of the present study.

Italian migrants to the UK have had a long-established connection with the catering and food industry (see Sponza, 1988; Colpi, 199). After early, small-scale waves of Italian migration to the UK linked to art, architecture, finance and trade, a larger community took root in the nineteenth century composed of artisans, organ-grinders, and somewhat later, ice-cream sellers (King *et al.*, 2014: 18). According to Colpi,¹ by the 1930s, in most cities in the UK there was at least one ice cream or fish and chip business run by an Italian family. These and other food shops were located on main roads in popular seaside resorts, such as the south coast or on the Thames estuary, while many Italians became headwaiters and chefs at prestigious British venues, and Italian restaurants opened in Soho. After World War II, a new wave of migrants from central and northern Italy arrived in the historic centres of Italian migration such as London, Manchester, Wales and Scotland through work permits obtained by family or friends to work in the expanding catering and service industries. Colpi also reports that first trattorias and Italian-style espresso coffee bars were opened in the 1950s, while Italian pizzerias became popular in the 1960s. A new phase of Italian migration began in the 1980s, when Italian professionals such as bankers, academics, engineers, scientists, and artists reached the UK. While coming from all regions of Italy, they concentrated in London. By 1993 cheap flights, further European integration, and increased job opportunities generated an increasing flow of Italian migrants to the British Isles. Renewed vulnerability of the Southern

¹ See Colpi, T. "Building Italian communities: caterers, industrial recruits, and professionals." In *20th and 21st Century Migrations*.

<https://www.ourmigrationstory.org.uk/oms/building-italian-communities-catering-war-service-industrial-recruitment> (last accessed 1 May 2020).

peripheral EU countries, Italy included, combined with a lack of meritocracy became dramatically apparent in connection with the 2008 global financial crisis, which caused growth stagnation across the EU and a rise in unemployment, youth unemployment in particular, in Southern European countries. As a consequence, there has been an increasing trend towards emigration among Italians, especially young jobless university graduates, although the brain drain northwards is a phenomenon which dates back to the early 1990s, if not before (King *et al.*, 2014: 17). These young Italian migrants, although well educated, often lacked professional experience and many gravitated to the traditional and, exceptionally strong, Italian catering sector (*ibid*). According to an article published in *The Economist* in 2013, finding good jobs took time, while work in the catering industry was plentiful, and Britain's Italian restaurants were once again hiring Italian waiters (November 16th, 2013)². As for future developments, although there is little research available on the impact of Brexit on Italian migration flows to the UK as yet, plausible empirically based estimates of the Brexit-induced reductions in migration from EU member states (Portes and Forte, 2017: 33), together with mobility restrictions due to the Covid-19 pandemic crisis, would indicate that the migration rates of EU citizens, including Italians, to the UK are likely to decrease, at least in the short and middle term.

2. Current trends in Italian migration to the UK

In contrast to earlier migrants who left their country of origin because they were affected by harsh economic conditions, in the 1970s and 1980s returnees to Italy outnumbered new migrants to the UK. In those years, Italian immigration to Britain stabilized at one or two thousand per year. Very little is known about these migrants, but it is likely that a number of them included migrants who moved to the UK on a temporary basis and for different reasons from their predecessors (Fortier, 2000: 29). Between March 2009 and March 2010, Scotto (2012) carried out open interviews with representatives of Italian institutions, associations and organizations in London; he found that the key elements of Italian mobility patterns to the UK today are a quest for meritocracy and fair competition, as well as hopes of better professional opportunities than they could obtain at

² "Pigs can fly". <https://www.economist.com/britain/2013/11/16/pigs-can-fly> (last accessed 30 April 2020).

home. Scotto (*ibid.*) argues that Italians now mainly live in the Greater London area, where they are attracted by the fact that it is an international financial and commercial hub. Their migration tends not to be permanent, they spend periods of three to five years in London working in banks, insurance companies and the service industry. Italians are mainly skilled professionals, doctors, experts in the financial sector, researchers, scientists, students or artists (AAVV, 2006: 1-2) who come to London to consolidate their professional skills and to improve their language skills, as well as to escape from a stagnating system based on gerontocracy. Young artists, musicians, directors, writers, but also designers and chefs, consider London as an opportunity to launch themselves onto an international market and art scene that they cannot access at home.

Further comparative research (King *et al.*, 2014) which considers the motivations and characteristics of recent migration to the UK (mainly to the London area) of three highly educated young-adult national groups – from Germany, Italy and Latvia – shows that Italian graduates migrate to find career opportunities in the economically and culturally dynamic London region which are unavailable to them at home, while the Germans relocating to London generally do not plan this as a career move, but as a temporary, life-enhancing experience. In Italy, employment and career prospects for young educated people have long been difficult because of problems such as the lack of recognition, “power brokering, nepotism” (*ibid.*: 21) and the Italian recommendation system, which has worsened with the post-2008 economic crisis, leading to enhanced migratory movements from the weaker peripheral areas of the EU zone to the “core” region of London and its surroundings.

Drawing on the analysis of a sample of extracts from TV cookery programs hosted by Antonio Carluccio, Gennaro Contaldo, and Giorgio Locatelli, three Italian chefs who, under different circumstances, chose the UK as their professional home-country, the present paper sets out to investigate three cases of post-1970s migration to the UK linked to the food industry. Well-known London restaurateurs, but also TV personae, these three chefs have become very popular both in the UK and in Italy via their British TV cookery series, having achieved success in London. In line with the results of sociological research conducted on the reasons for Italian recent migration to the UK (AAVV, 2006; King *et al.*, 2014) the three chefs’ migration to the UK started as a temporary project and became a permanent one because of the opportunities they encountered in the host country.

The analysis has used a mixed methodology involving the research tools of linguistics, multimodal discourse analysis (Kress and van Leuven, 1996, 2001), textual analysis applied to media (Gillespie and Toynebee, 2006) as well as food studies (Heldke, 2003, 2005; James, 2005) and sociological research (Cavallaro, 2009; Scotto, 2012; King *et al.*, 2014). The paper looks for narration patterns that relate to migration, redemption and success in the TV series analyzed, and also addresses the topic of how culture-specific contents of the Italian food tradition have been retained, erased or adapted in these TV cookery series in order to appeal to UK recipients who do not share either the cultural or the gastronomic background of the chefs' country of origin. One further objective of the study is to investigate whether the TV chefs' representation of a sense of identity and belonging connect more to the Italian community at home or to the Italian-British community in the UK, and how these aspects have been conveyed through such culturally connoted programs as TV cookery series. In order to obtain a more thorough picture of the factors involved, the paper also takes into consideration some cookbooks accompanying the TV series and other cookbooks published by the same authors on Italian cuisine.

In order to analyze the materials from the perspective of migrant narratives I referred to sociological research, and in particular to Cavallaro (2009) who argues that, similarly to biographies, life narratives are never a simple reflection of the past life of migrants, they are rather a reconstruction of what they consider to be the salient events according to their prospective audience (Cavallaro, 2009: 31). Studying the life stories of Calabrian migrants who moved to the UK in the 1970s, he identified some recurrent narrative themes in the narrations of the people he interviewed. Cavallaro lists four lexical and thematic clusters that migrants used in their narrations to shape the time framework of the *narratum* (2009: 33). The time before migration was normally associated with poverty and suffering, with the journey marking a transition from an old to a new life, the migration experience was identified as a turning point in their lives, while the narration of the return had more to do with dreams about a serene old age and social liberation than with a real plan of returning to their homeland in the near future (2009: 34-40). Cavallaro also mentions that in the life stories of the migrants he interviewed, whenever a happy memory from pre-migration periods was recollected, it was often linked to childhood memories of smells and flavours, and of occasional food abundance (Cavallaro, 2009: 35). As we will see below, some of these lexical and discursive clusters are present in the narrations

of the chefs' relationship to their homeland. Of course, we are well aware that cookery TV series, like any other televisual text, are artificially constructed and cannot be taken as uncontroversial autobiographical material. Any object can carry meaning to some extent, but the peculiarity about media texts is that their primary function is the "making and taking of meaning," apart from the making and taking of profits (Gillespie and Toynebee, 2006: 2). Even the most factual documentary footage is to be read as an artificial construction of meaning; yet, these specific cookery series and particularly the episodes filmed in the chefs' regions of origin, clearly contain a number of autobiographical elements. Because of the particular angle from which the chefs observe Italy and the Italian food culture, the series also provide some discursive patterns that can be ascribed to the narrative(s) of migration, and this is why they were selected for the purpose of the present paper.

3. Antonio Carluccio, Gennaro Contaldo and Giorgio Locatelli, three Italian chefs in the UK

In this section the biographies of the three celebrity chefs of Italian origin will be briefly outlined. Particular attention will be devoted to their migration stories.

3.1 Antonio Carluccio

Well-known for his chain of eponymous restaurants, his 20 cookery books and numerous TV series, Antonio Carluccio is recognized as a food ambassador of Italian cuisine in the UK. Born in 1937 in Vietri sul Mare, in Salerno, he moved to the north of Italy with his family when he was a young boy and grew up in the northwest region of Piedmont. After studying languages in Vienna and gaining 13 years of experience as a wine merchant in Germany, he moved to London in 1975, where a few years later he set up the *Neal Street Restaurant* in Covent Garden, which he ran until 2008. In London, he also opened the first deli, gourmet shop and restaurant of his successful chain *Carluccio's Cafés*, with 80 outlets around the UK, one in Dublin and six in the Middle East. As an apprentice, celebrity chef Jamie Oliver learnt how to cook Italian food in the kitchens of his Neal Street Restaurant, where Jamie also met his mentor Gennaro Contaldo.

The fifth of six children, Antonio Carluccio recollects his childhood as an idyllic period of his life, and insists that although his family was not rich, there was always enough food on their table (the *Telegraph*, March 14th, 2009)³ His father worked for the Italian railways as a stationmaster and his mother was a passionate family cook “who managed to feed her large family well, creatively and very lovingly through the lean post-war years” (Carluccio, 2012: 6). Although his television trademark image is of a rustic Italian peasant-type, Carluccio insists that his family was poor, but not uncultured. His happy adolescence was shattered by the death of his younger brother, Enrico, from which his mother never recovered, becoming a Jehovah's Witness for the last 20 years of her life. Partly to escape his painful home life, Carluccio left Italy for Vienna at the age of 21, and then moved to Germany, before migrating to London. It was then that he met his third wife Priscilla, the sister of designer Sir Terence Conran, from whom Carluccio bought the Neal Street Restaurant (the *Telegraph*, March 14th, 2009).⁴ Carluccio is also well known for collaboration with his fellow countryman, chef Gennaro Contaldo and their enormously successful BBC Two television series *Two Greedy Italians* (BBC, 2011) and *Two Greedy Italians: still hungry* (BBC, 2012). Both series feature the two internationally renowned chefs and old friends, Carluccio and Contaldo, travelling around Italy to find out how society and food have evolved in the *Bel Paese* over the years. As stated on the DVD cover of the series: “They uncover a changed Italy in some areas and a fiercely traditional, mostly untouched world in others” (FremantleMedia Productions, 2012). When Carluccio died in November 2017, many celebrity chefs and other TV personalities expressed their sadness and admiration for the godfather of Italian gastronomy in the UK (the *Guardian*, November 8th, 2017).⁵

³Harrison, D. 2009. “Antonio Carluccio: My marriage had collapsed, I was desperate”. *The Telegraph*. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/4991878/Antonio-Carluccio-My-marriage-had-collapsed.-I-was-desperate.html> (last accessed 28 April 2020).

⁴ See previous footnote.

⁵ See Khomami, N. (2017) “Italian chef Antonio Carluccio dies aged 80” *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2017/nov/08/chef-antonio-carluccio-dies-aged-80> (last accessed 30 April 2020).

3.2 Gennaro Contaldo

Best known for being the mentor of Jamie Oliver after they met at Carluccio's *Neal Street* restaurant, Gennaro Contaldo, a highly respected chef in London and a renowned TV personality, was born in Minori on the Amalfi coast, where he started helping in the kitchen of a local restaurant at a very early age. He migrated to the UK in the 1960s, and spent his first years working in local village restaurants around the country and studying autochthonous food. He then moved to London where he worked at a number of popular restaurants, before opening his own award-winning restaurant *Passione* (Contaldo, 2010: 1).

Contaldo's and Carluccio's professional partnership started well before the television series was filmed. In the cookery book which accompanied the second *Two Greedy Italians* TV series, Carluccio reports that they first met when Contaldo "presented himself at the back door of my Neal Street restaurant with a basket of wild mushrooms, gathered from the wooded glades of Walthamstow. He had seen me on television extolling the virtues of the "quiet hunt". Thinking I would not consider him worthy if he were revealed to be from the south, he tried to disguise his heavy accent, pretending that he came from the more fashionable Tuscany (Chianti-shire). I wasn't deceived however, and yet still I took him on. And thus began our turbulent 30-year relationship" (Carluccio and Contaldo, 2012: 55). Contaldo's witty and outgoing style as well as his positive and passionate nature have made him a TV star regularly appearing on BBC's *Saturday Kitchen* (BBC1, 2001-) and in many episodes of Jamie Oliver's numerous TV series. He has published five cookbooks including *Passione* (2003), awarded Best Italian Cookbook at the world Gourmet Awards in 2003.

3.3 Giorgio Locatelli

Giorgio Locatelli was brought up in Northern Italy, on the banks of Lake Comabbio, in the Lombardy region. His uncle ran a restaurant which provided him with an appreciation and understanding of food from a very early age. Locatelli worked in his family-run restaurant until he was 20 and then started travelling. After working for a short period in local restaurants in Northern Italy and Switzerland, he relocated to England in 1986 to join the kitchens of Anton Edelmann at *The Savoy* restaurant. In 1990, Locatelli moved to Paris where he worked at the *Laurent* and *La Tour d'Argent*. On his return to London a couple of years later, he became

head chef at *Olivo*, before opening *Zafferano* in 1995. He opened his second restaurant, *Spighetta*, in 1997 and its sister restaurant *Spiga*, two years later. In 2002, Locatelli opened his first independent restaurant, *Locanda Locatelli*, in Seymour Street together with his wife. The restaurant was awarded a Michelin star in 2003, and has retained it ever since. When asked how dynamic the London dining scene was, he replied: “In London we have very different types of cuisine of the highest level compared to other European capitals...they must envy us!” (*Londonist*, November 24th, 2011).⁶

4. Travelogue cooking shows

The food series which have been selected for the purpose of the present study are set in Italy and hosted by Italian chefs who, early on in their careers, migrated to the UK and have since lived and worked in London. Giorgio Locatelli’s *Italy Unpacked* (BBC, 2011-) which he presented together with art historian and critic Graham Dixon: *Two Greedy Italians* (BBC, 2011) and *Two Greedy Italians: still hungry* (BBC, 2012) hosted by Gennaro Contaldo and Antonio Carluccio, all belong to a sub-genre of television cookery known as the “travelogue cooking show”. This factual genre combines cookery and travelling, and takes both the chefs and the cooking out of television studios into exciting, exotic locations. As noted by Leer and Kjaer (2015: 310), travelogue series allow the television chefs more freedom of movement as they can then actually experience and share exotic cuisines rather than simply describe and interpret them in abstract terms. This genre first became popular on UK TV in the 1980s through celebrity chef Keith Floyd’s first TV cooking series *Floyd on Fish* (BBC, 1984), and subsequent sixteen further series typically beginning with “Floyd on ...”, followed by a destination: *Floyd on Italy*, *Floyd on France*, *Floyd on Africa*, *Floyd’s India*, *Floyd’s China* etc. These early series prefigured and inspired many of the food travelogues currently broadcast on British and international TV. As argued in Rossato (2015: 276), the travelogue cooking show is the perfect format to bring together cultural tradition and culinary innovation.

Notions of novelty and tradition are fundamental in the food discourse of Western societies (Warde, 1997: 57), since novelty promises excitement

⁶ Milazzo, F. (2011) “Chefspective: Giorgio Locatelli, Refettorio” *Londonist*. <http://londonist.com/2011/11/chefspective-giorgio-locatelli-refettorio> (last accessed 12 June 2020).

while tradition guarantees the comforts of the familiar and the safe. In this respect, travelogue-cooking shows are the ideal television space to go beyond one's own culinary tradition in favour of an exploration of the gastronomic traditions of different, distant cultures. British television chefs like Jamie Oliver and Gordon Ramsay tend to go culture-hopping in the kitchen to introduce innovation by exploring what may be perceived at home as cultural and culinary traditions of "exotic Others" (Heldke, 2005: 385; Rossato, 2015: 277).

Whether one is a temporary traveller on holiday from one's own culture, or a long-term transplant away from one's cultural home for the foreseeable future, the experience is common to all travel. [...] According to a prevailing view in modern Western culture, we leave the familiar in order to encounter the unusual, unfamiliar, strange, exotic Other and to reflect on how this particular Other transforms our own identities. (Heldke, 2005: 385)

5. The authentic-exotic Other

Although there is a long-standing tradition of British and American cookery writers who resorted to exotic culinary traditions to enrich their food offer at home – Elizabeth David who dealt with Mediterranean and Italian cuisine, Jane Grigson who wrote extensively on European gastronomy, Julia Child who explored French cuisine, to name just a few – the quest for "authenticity" of exotic culinary traditions is a relatively recent concern. That the authenticity of food might be difficult to trace and define, from the point of view of both consumer and producer, is argued by James (2005: 374), among others. According to her, global flows in food resources, as well as increased mobility of chefs and consumers, challenge the notion of the geographically based authenticity of food, making it difficult to pinpoint how "authentic food" is conceptualized or constructed in an age of cultural globalization and creolization (*ibid.*: 382). This in turn brings into question "the very notion of 'authentic' food traditions, raising doubts as to the validating role food might have with respect to cultural identity" (*ibid.*: 374). Cheng (2004) speculates that one of the cultural forces behind the continuous reification of authenticity and ethnic "identity politics" in the world today, at a time when distinct cultures seem to be increasingly melting into a transnational global culture, might be the anxiety suffered by previously distinct cultures about "the perceived loss of identity and subjectivity, thus requiring the

construction and maintenance of fantasmatic identities and authenticities so as to continue to be able to assert difference and superiority” (Cheng, 2003: 6). As one of the food scholars who first raised questions about which groups take responsibility for conferring “authentic” status on ethnic cuisines, Heldke (2003, 2005, [2001] 2013), argues that “there is no such thing as a cuisine untouched by ‘outside influences’” (Heldke, 2005: 388) and that purity is no virtue in a cuisine: “Lack of influence is not, in and of itself, desirable. One can unearth countless examples of the ways in which food exchanges have enriched, expanded, perhaps even improved cultures’ cuisines. Not all of these exchanges have been free and open ones, but some of them have” (Heldke, 2003: xix-xx).

In the case of the travelogue cooking shows discussed here, the hosting TV chefs live and work in-between two different culinary cultures. Their status is ambiguous with regard to the authenticity of the food they present and yet it is powerful from a migration narrative perspective (Mehta, 2009; Jagannath, 2017). The chefs are of Italian origin, but they are also UK-based restaurateurs and BBC television food celebrities. They are at the same time alien to UK culinary traditions, as they are a special type of migrant, namely white-collar ones in search of new opportunities abroad, and yet they are not completely Italian as they have long lived abroad. They can concurrently embody the observing outsider and the observed exotic insider. The three chefs with an Italian background might be perceived as more entitled to deal with the “authentic” culinary cultures they explore in their travelogues than their British counterparts. They are both cultural and culinary mediators of an exotic gastronomic tradition, since they share an Italian cultural heritage. In the perception of their intended audiences, their Italian origins might allow them greater authority with respect to the judgments and opinions they express about Italian society and Italian food and cuisine. Their Italian accents, their sometimes-inaccurate English, far from being a stigma of their outsider status, might be perceived as the ultimate evidence of their authentic “Italian culinary identity” even if they have lived in the UK for more than 50 years in the case of Contaldo and Carluccio, and around 30 years in the case of Locatelli.

6. Cultural translation: two portraits of Italy

In hosting these TV series, Locatelli, Contaldo and Carluccio serve as ambassadors for Italian cuisine abroad. These chefs interpret the Italian

culinary tradition for their intended audience, namely British and international TV viewers who are native speakers of English, and also provide details of the cultural, political and geographical dimension of the places they visit and the recipes they illustrate. Recipe adjustments are the tip of the iceberg of the cultural adaptation these chefs perform, appealing not only to specialists, but also to anyone with an interest in Italian gastronomy and, more generally, in visiting Italy. Carluccio and Contaldo's TV series is constructed as a homecoming of two expatriates who are passionate about their country of origin and enjoy visiting their home country looking back at the good old days. Locatelli and Graham Dixon's series is assembled as a cultural tour of two highbrow tourists who are keen on Italian food, art and lifestyle.

Carluccio and Contaldo seem to be more inclined to explain and simplify "culture bumps"; they facilitate their viewers' understanding of Italian cultural specificities by resorting to stereotypes and *clichés*. Locatelli paints a more modern picture of Italy, and refers to present-day values such as those of the Slow Food movement, mentioning products that are well-known Italian brands such as Ferrari cars and Alessi table and kitchenware.

In the Introduction to the book associated with the second TV series hosted by Carluccio and Contaldo, the authors explain some of the historical, political and geographical traits of Italian cuisine:

Each region of what is now Italy, north and south, has at some point in the past been dominated or influenced by other civilisations or governing powers, and so a sense of "Italian-ness" does not intrinsically exist. Instead Italians are by nature very loyal to family, to home, to friends, to locality [...] It is no wonder then that Italians (with the example of recent governments in front of them) have a profound sense of the impermanence of anything remotely political and do not easily identify national interest with their own, being instead very adaptable in changing circumstances and good at solving problems. This is what is known as *l'arte di arrangiarsi* the art of "arranging oneself" or reaching into oneself, to do the best you possibly can with what you have. (Carluccio and Contaldo, 2012: 7-8)

In his Introduction to *Made in Italy: Food and Stories* (2006), Locatelli introduces Italian cuisine from his perspective as a northern Italian and concentrates on the most appealing aspects Italy has to offer to modern foodies and businessmen:

The way I think about food is entirely in tune with the Slow Food movement, started in Italy back in 1986 by Carlo Petrini in defiance of the opening of a McDonalds outlet in the Piazza di Spagna in Roma. Now a worldwide force, Slow Food champions local, traditional produce with real flavour; made by caring people with skill and wisdom, which is celebrated every two years - with wonderful conviviality - at the Salone del Gusto, the famous food fair in Torino. [...] Life in the North of Italy is very different from the way it is in the pretty Italy of the South - the idyllic Italy, still a little wild, that you always see in movies. The south fulfills the Mediterranean expectation, whereas the North is the real heart of Europe. Historically we have been under many influences. Spanish, French, Austrian... at home we are only around 20 kilometres from Switzerland and Milano is the most cosmopolitan city in Italy. In the North I don't know anyone who hasn't got a job and everyone comes to the north to find work - the reverse of the way it is in England. [...] In the North, we are famous for designing and making things, things that work properly. (Locatelli, 2006: 21-25)

The different TV series adopt different strategies to address their respective audiences. An older, more traditional viewer with a general interest in Italian gastronomy and on a relatively low budget, seems to be the target of *Two Greedy Italians*, whereas a more refined, cosmopolitan and wealthy spectator seems to be the addressee of *Italy Unpacked*. These are all programmes for a predominantly middle-class audience⁷, but we may infer that *Two Greedy Italians* is more appealing to a lower middle-class viewer, while *Italy Unpacked* targets an upper middle-class audience. The first TV series hosted by Contaldo and Carluccio features a series of episodes that are named after typical clichés associated with Italian people; The Family, Poor Man's food, Regional Pride, Saints and Miracles, Calabria and Bambinone, Liguria and La bella Figura, The Alps and Arrangiarsi, Lazio and Machismo. Giorgio Locatelli and Graham Dixon's first series of *Italy unpacked* explores the northern regions of Emilia-Romagna, Lombardy and Piedmont, which are off the usual tourist tracks.

⁷ I am grateful to one of the anonymous reviewers who pointed that out that the ever-changing British class system is complex to pinpoint, and identifying audiences in terms of upper-middle/lower middle class is a little too crude. Although such a simplification allows some kind of "working categorization" of TV viewers, one should not forget that the class issue is further complicated by age, education and gender factors. Where people live is also important in the case of cookery programs, as Londoners might have better chances to find ingredients for Italian dishes than people from the rest of the country.

As the introduction to the first episode of *Italy unpacked* highlights, the two hosts want to show a part of Italy that is often overlooked, presenting both its classic dishes and the hidden legacy of artists, designers and intellectuals who lived there. Emilia-Romagna is the first region both TV series explore, but while Locatelli and Dixon describe it as the birthplace of modern Italian cuisine and home to some of the most fascinating artists and powerful dynasties, the same region is described by Contaldo and Carluccio as the home of parma ham and parmesan cheese. In the first episode of season 1 of *Two Greedy Italians* the two chefs decide to:

[...] spend an enjoyable Sunday lunch with a traditional Italian family whose fortunes ferment with the balsamic vinegar in their vaults. For the daughters, weekends are dominated by the loving preparation of traditional tortellini, a symbol of their love and ties with their family.⁸

Locatelli and Dixon drive a Maserati sports car through the bustling streets of Bologna, while Carluccio and Contaldo drive an old-fashioned vintage Alfa Romeo along the narrow country lanes on the beautiful hills around Modena. In the opening scene of episode 1 of the first series, Locatelli introduces Bologna as a city that has represented quality, taste and power since the Middle Ages. Dixon explains that Bologna boasts the oldest university in the world, founded in 1088. In the episode filmed in Emilia-Romagna, Carluccio and Contaldo explain that they came to this region to see if Italian families still eat together as they used to do, and whether Italian “mamas” still teach their daughters how to cook. Carluccio also tells Contaldo that he believes Italy has two or three million starred chefs, namely Italian mothers.

From a semiotic point of view, there are some differences in the use of the music too. For example, the soundtrack of *Italy unpacked* is a mix of music from recent internationally successful Italian films such as *La Vita è Bella* (Benigni, 1997), classical Italian music and choir music, while *Two Greedy Italians* mainly uses well-known pieces of operatic music and soundtracks from classical movies such as Fellini’s *Amarcord* (Fellini, 1973) *La Dolce Vita* (Fellini, 1960) and *The Godfather* (Coppola, 1972) which were either filmed in Italy or featured Italian-American characters, and contributed to shaping the stereotypical picture of Italy abroad. Music has an important narrative function within Carluccio and Contaldo’s series, as

⁸ “Two Greedy Italians: the Family”.
<https://www.bbc.co.uk/food/programmes/b0110c5x> (last accessed 6 May 2020).

it provides an off-screen ironic, grotesque comment, a key to interpreting the most controversial scenes or simply the most challenging ones from a cultural point of view. That is the case of the scene of Contaldo teaching children how to cook a black pudding with fresh pig's blood, a scene which comes right after that of a traditional pig-slaughtering. Here the background music is Ennio Morricone's soundtrack to the film *Indagine su un cittadino al di sopra di ogni sospetto*⁹ (Petri, 1970).

7. Culinary adaptations

As mentioned above, cultural adaptation also operates at a micro-level, and includes strategies that are also typical of interlingual translation such as substitutions, omissions, expansions (or explanations) and simplifications. In line with Chiaro and Rossato's assumption that there are numerous points of convergence between translation and food adaptation (2015: 238), the chefs apply a mixture of domesticating and foreignizing strategies to their cultural and culinary translations. Carluccio and Contaldo tend to simplify Italian recipes for their prospective audience, while Locatelli seems to count on addressees who are already familiar with many Italian ingredients found in delicatessens, and most importantly, who can afford them.

One of Contaldo's recipes that includes porcini mushrooms is introduced by his suggestion for substituting the main ingredient with a more widely available, and cheaper, type of mushroom:

Porcini (ceps) and other wild fungi are much sought after in the woods and valleys of Italy's mountains. This is a simple recipe which maximises their flavour. If you can't get hold of porcini, use the large portobello mushroom that is widely available. (Carluccio and Contaldo, 2012: 20)

Other adaptations of genuine Italian recipes by these two celebrity chefs who suggest simplifying procedures and using more popular or more cost-effective ingredients are found in the recipe for the Piedmontese *Brasato di Manzo in Vino Rosso*:

This is a typically robust Piedmontese dish which is normally cooked with Barolo wine from the area. Marinating the beef

⁹ Translated into English as *Investigation of a citizen beyond suspicion*, the film is an Italian crime drama, a black-humour satire on the corruption of a police officer.

with the vegetables, herbs and wine gives the best flavour, but if you are pressed for time, you can omit this stage. Traditionally served with steaming polenta (see page 39), this hearty winter dish is equally good with mashed potato. (Carluccio and Contaldo, 2012: 45)

Instead of Barolo, the list of ingredients only includes a bottle of generic “red wine”. The option of substituting polenta with mashed potatoes is a culinary adaptation to cater for the taste buds of an international audience, and yet it does not lead to a complete distortion of the original recipe, as in Italy this course might be served with *purè*, which is typically made with mashed potatoes with the addition of parmesan cheese, butter and a little bit of nutmeg. Similarly, Carluccio explains that to make *Bucatini all’Amatriciana* you can substitute *guanciale* with *pancetta*. Significantly, the chef does not suggest using bacon instead, thus avoiding the approximation of replacing one cultural item with its nearest British equivalent, with the result of maintaining a sense of Italianness in the overall recipe. Genuine Italian ingredients are *guanciale* and *pancetta*, both Italian types of bacon (from pork meat) although used in different dishes and in different regional cuisines. Moreover, the chef also suggests using less expensive *pecorino* cheese rather than the more popular Parmesan. These insider tips are evidence of an effort to bridge a culinary as well as a cultural gap:

You must use *bucatino* - a large spaghetti-type pasta with a hole in the middle, which makes it easy to cook. You should also use *guanciale*, cured pig cheek, although you could substitute the less tasty *pancetta*. Use *pecorino* cheese here rather than the posher (and dearer) Parmesan. (Carluccio and Contaldo, 2012: 142).

Many cultural equivalents and simplifications are also used in the *Two Greedy Italians* TV series. In an episode devoted to the regional cuisine of Calabria, Contaldo and Carluccio’s first destination is Tropea. While driving along the southern coastline of the region, the chefs introduce a local PGI (protected geographical indication) product, namely the Tropea onion. While munching on fresh onion and some *Provolone* cheese, they talk about the cultural value of onions in the whole peninsula, in combination with *Provolone*.¹⁰ In doing so, the chefs use generalizations

¹⁰ Although experts say *Provolone* cheese comes from the south of Italy, and the Italian audience would associate this cheese to the southern regions, nowadays it is mostly produced in the north of Italy. See: Angelo Frosio (2020) “Il Provolone:

and oversimplifications which do not necessarily correspond to reality today. Carluccio opens a conversation with an inquiry: “Do you want an onion? Do you know this is a very special onion, from Tropea, it’s a sweet onion, it’s like an apple” and Contaldo replies: “It is like being in England: Bread and butter in Italy is bread and onions, with a bit of *Provolone* cheese.”

Carluccio and Contaldo are not obsessed with the “authenticity” of the recipes they decide to include in their cookbook (a small selection from their TV programme). Maybe because they have been away from Italy for many years or because they do not feel the need to underline that they represent “authentic” Italian culinary culture, their preoccupation with the purity and genuineness of real Italian food is not particularly stressed in their language. The theme of authenticity only emerges indirectly in the introduction to some of the most traditional Italian classic dishes, like the world-famous *lasagne*. Moreover, the version the chefs include in the cookbook only appears as Carluccio’s version of the dish:

So many bad versions of lasagne can now be found in fast food restaurants and supermarkets that its reputation seems to have suffered. This is a shame because, if made properly, lasagne really is delicious comfort food at its best. This is my version of the baked pasta dish from Emilia-Romagna, made with the typical Bolognese sauce of the region as well as egg pasta. (Carluccio and Contaldo, 2012: 141)

Conversely, Locatelli seems to pay a lot of attention to the authenticity of the recipes he illustrates. On the very first page of *Made in Italy* (2006: 21), he introduces the concepts of PGI (protected geographical indication) and PDO (protected designation of origin) products, and generally speaking, he tends to present himself as authentic Italian. In the promotional trailer of *Italy unpacked* series 1 he asserts: “The smells, the colours, that’s what food is all about. The rich flavours and classic dishes of this land are in my culinary DNA”. The episode filmed in Lombardy opens with Locatelli visiting his parents in Corgegnò for lunch. There is a very traditional dish on the menu, *polenta*. The typical maize flour food is cooked in a copper pot on an open fire, a very traditional way of cooking it, as Locatelli says: “good *polenta* has to taste of smoke”. Furthermore, the only dish Locatelli

Un formaggio da leggenda. Storia e caratteristiche”. *Ristorazione italiana magazine*. <https://www.ristorazioneitalianamagazine.it/il-provolone-formaggio/> (last accessed 30 June 2020).

cooks during this episode is *casseula*, that according to him is a winter dish epitomizing Lombard cuisine. He goes shopping at a local greengrocer's and a butcher's to find the right traditional ingredients, namely cabbage, onions, carrots and pork meat (ribs, ears, trotters, nose, tail). In his book *Made in Italy*, which is a sort of compendium of Italian modern cuisine with an eye on regional traditions, Locatelli writes extensively about Italian ingredients before naming them in his recipes. In the "Dolci" section (desserts, puddings and cakes) there are a number of "cards" where the chef describes some of the most unusual or typical Italian ingredients named in subsequent recipes in depth. Locatelli's dessert recipe "Chocolate fondant with Bicerin di Gianduiotto" for example lists "Bicerin di Gianduiotto liqueur" among the necessary ingredients, and refers back to the page where chocolate products in Italy are described, adding that this liqueur is now being sold in the UK (Locatelli, 2006: 594), although it is a very special local liqueur. A simplified version of the same dessert is included in Carluccio and Contaldo's cookbook under the title "Tortino al Cioccolato Caldo: warm mini chocolate puddings", but their version does not include Bicerin di Gianduiotto liqueur nor any other delicatessen ingredient (Carluccio and Contaldo, 2012: 68).

Locatelli jauntily tends to use very special, local or regional, products, some of which might even not be too familiar to all Italians. That is the case of the main ingredient for the dressing of his salad: "Radicchio salad with button mushrooms and Gorgonzola dressing" where he appears to be addressing northern Italian readers rather than a UK readership.

In Lombardia, we call Gorgonzola *erborinato*, after the parsley green colour of the mould. (...) In the restaurant, we use ninety-day-old Gorgonzola, which is harder and saltier (*piccante*), instead of the young creamy one (*dolce*), but you could use either. (Locatelli, 2006: 61)

The fact that Locatelli suggests that his readers can use either variety of cheese presupposes that his international target audience can easily recognize the difference between the two and can find both types of cheese outside of Italy with equal ease.

8. Narrative themes of migrant life stories

Drawing on some ideas borrowed from sociological research (Cavallaro, 2009), I analyzed some of the lexical and discursive patterns relating to the

experience of migration, namely: ideas about a beautiful homeland, childhood memories related to food, and the prospect of redemption through migration.

The rhetoric of the rediscovery of one's own homeland is present in all the chefs' accounts of their journey to Italy, but while Carluccio and Contaldo's recollections are steeped in a feeling of nostalgia, maybe because of their seniority, Locatelli's depiction of Italy, and of Lombardy in particular, is more future-oriented as we can infer from the following extracts: "We are going back to the world that gave us our passion for food. The world that made us hungry... for Italy" (*Two Greedy Italians ... still hungry*, BBC, 2012), "Italy may have changed in many ways since we were boys (a long time ago) but at heart she is still our much loved *bella Italia*" (Carluccio and Contaldo, 2012: 9). The episode of *Italy unpacked* that is more concerned with Locatelli's Italian roots is the one filmed in Lombardy, where Locatelli and Graham Dixon visit some architectural highlights scattered around the main cities. Locatelli introduces one of the most stunning 19th century industrial artefacts:

Built in 1889, the S. Michele Bridge was much admired across Europe for its elegant design and cutting-edge technology. It is simple, beautiful and most importantly functioning. This is what Lombardy is all about: looking towards the future. They built it in two years. They fit well, definitely in Europe! These guys were there with everybody else, with the industrial revolution, and building and going forward. (*Italy unpacked*, BBC, 2011).

In pronouncing these words, Locatelli becomes very emotional about his Italian origins and his voice starts trembling, so the message that comes across is that Locatelli is also talking about himself and about his motivations for leaving Italy to go and live in the UK. He too wanted to be part of Europe, move forward and look towards the future.

In the promotional trailer to the episode on Calabria's regional cuisine of *Two Greedy Italians... still hungry*, an episode that is devoted to Contaldo's region of origin and to children's food, and hence particularly focused on childhood memories, Carluccio and Contaldo announce:

Returning to the South brings us back to childhood, and what childhood we had. But what is life for children who grow up in southern Italy now? And do they enjoy the simple pleasures we did when we were young? We are on a voyage of discovery, but with Gennaro on board the old things could all turn out to be a

disaster. But don't worry. It will be fantastic just as long as there is plenty of food to eat. (BBC, 2012)

To the theme of “*Libiamo ne' lieti calici*” from *La Traviata*, the trailer showcases the two chefs picking figs, persimmons and tangerines, picking wild mushrooms in the woods, running after waves on the shoreline, and kneading pizza dough with Italian children. For their visit to Calabria, that they describe as “the most unindustrialized region of Italy”, the two chefs choose Contaldo's old-fashioned family car as a means of transportation, a *Topolino*.¹¹ As proof that their trip to Italy is also to be read as an expatriates' homecoming, a picture of Contaldo's father driving a Topolino is shown in the very first scene of the episode while Contaldo wistfully recollects his childhood: “I first drove a Topolino sitting on my papa's knees”. Later on, speaking of his mother's ambivalent feelings during the pig-slaughtering “feast”, Contaldo is visibly moved. In the same episode, Carluccio also adds some of his childhood memories: “Being in a stranger's garden picking ripe persimmons reminds me that as a child, the countryside was our switch-off. Then and now food was exciting. It was stolen treasure.” Acoustically complemented by “ahh” and “mmm” enjoyment sounds, happy memories related to food flavours and childhood experiences are cited in connection with food abundance in a general context of poverty and food scarcity, as in the following examples: “Do you know what we used to do with this? [a ripe persimmon] Grabbed a nice bit of fresh bread, especially if it was bread from the bakery. You took a ripe one, you rubbed it on top and squeezed it like a tomato. That used to be jam on toast or on bread ahhh! This is what we used to call the poor man's jam”.

In the episode of *Italy Unpacked* series 1 devoted to the part of Italy where Locatelli grew up, Lombardy is described as the “motor of the country” that “drives the Old Country”. Along with Locatelli uncovering the “Lombard food of his youth”, Graham Dixon presents the “hidden legacy of artists, designers and intellectuals” who produced some of the most “ingenious art pieces” and “thrilling design” objects which have contributed to make the “Made in Italy” famous around the world. Locatelli places the area where he was born, both geographically and culturally, at the heart of Europe: “Bordering Switzerland, we are closer here to Zurich than Rome” and “Lombardy often has more in common with northern Europe than with the Mediterranean South. Progressive,

¹¹ The Fiat 500, commonly known as “Topolino”, was an Italian car produced in Italy from 1936 to 1955.

pragmatic, unlike the laid-back southerners the Lombard likes to get things moving.”

All the chefs mention the smell of food as part of their happy childhood memories and they refer as well to the fulfilling experience of early experiments in the kitchen with their mothers and grandmothers. Carluccio and Contaldo look back with nostalgia on their young adulthood when homecoming also meant running to their mothers’ kitchen: “We both like to be seen as macho, but have to admit that we were only too happy to run to the safe haven of our mother’s home even as young adults.” (Carluccio and Contaldo, 2012: 9). While cooking a traditional *cassunla* for his TV series co-host Graham Dixon, Locatelli says: “This is the smell that I used to smell as I came home from school. Since I got to the gate of the house I knew that my grandmother was cooking this because you can smell it from outside” (BBC, 2011). In his cookbook, he mentions his grandmother many times in connection with food and life’s turning points: “My first feelings for cooking came from my grandmother, Vincenzina.” (Locatelli, 2006: 24). Locatelli names his grandmother also in relation to his redemption story that is linked both to his experience of migration and to his becoming a celebrity chef abroad. He first gained his cooking experience at his uncle’s restaurant, but it was at the age of 16 that he got a real job as commis chef. Recollecting those times, Locatelli says that he used to be “picked on” all the time. The head chef once even yelled at him: “You will never be a chef Locatelli, you are an idiot”. Locatelli admits he couldn’t forget those words: “I went home and my grandmother was waiting. ‘What does he know?’ she said. ‘Who is he?’ ‘He is the chef!’ I told her: I would have run away, but as always my grandmother put everything into perspective, and she told me I had to go back and show him. So I went back. And I did show him.” (Locatelli, 2006: 23).

9. Identity issues

That food serves as a marker of cultural identity has long been discussed by anthropologists and food scholars (Lévi-Strauss, 1962), yet as recent work on food systems has noted, historically there has been a constant interchange between cultures in relation to food consumption, which was recently accelerated by trade, travel, transport and technology (James, 2005: 374). James argues that today’s globalization of food is not just a matter of the movement of foodstuffs between nations, nor is it simply

the amalgamation or accommodation of different cuisines; it is a complex interplay of meanings and intentions (*ibid.*: 383). In the presentation of *Two Greedy Italians Eat Italy* the theme of the “homecoming” with its sense of dreamy nostalgia and homesickness is very significant, yet the two chefs tend to distance themselves from their fellow countrymen, as if they were not part of the same cultural and ethnic group:

We have been back to our beloved Italy, and indeed how beautiful it is - almost completely surrounded by sea, with its spectacular mountain ranges, valleys, lakes, rivers plains and forests. How proud both of us feel to come from such a magnificent country! But, yes, then there are the Italians” (Carluccio and Contaldo, 2012: 6)

What is noticeable is that the hosts of *Two Greedy Italians* never use the first person plural pronouns “we” or “us” to refer to the Italians and tend to describe them as a third party, an object of study. They neither identify with the Italians in Italy, nor do they describe themselves as part of the British-Italian community in the UK, which they do not even mention. They often refer to their past in Italy in a nostalgic way, but they also distance themselves as expatriates who do not know how Italians really live in today’s Italy.

Locatelli is even more ambiguous as he describes himself as a product of Italy, namely “Made *of* Italy”, and uses alternatively the pronouns “we” and “us” in conjunction with his belonging to Italian or UK inhabitants:

Convivialità [...] is the word I use most to explain the way Italians feel about food. For us the sign of welcome is to feed people. [...] In the UK it is easy to blame supermarkets for clocking up air miles, for persuading us that we want fruit and vegetables that look perfect, but often have little flavour; for luring us on to diets of things that are salty, fatty, sugary and easy to eat; for packaging everything into convenient parcels so that we almost forget where our food comes from; and conditioning us to think that as long as our food is cheap, we are satisfied. But we have responsibilities too, and we have the power to change things. (Locatelli, 2006: 21; our underlining)

Locatelli alternatively identifies with the Italians at home and with the British in the UK. He proudly announces that the first *autostrada* (motorway) in Europe was Italian, not British or German, but he also refers to the London cosmopolitan food scene as if it was his own city:

“we have very different types of cuisine of the highest level compared to other European capitals...they must envy us!”.

10. Conclusions

Through the analysis of some extracts from TV cookery programs hosted by Antonio Carluccio, Gennaro Contaldo and Giorgio Locatelli, three Italian chefs who migrated to the UK and experienced success in the food, publishing and television industries abroad, I suggest that these three chefs engage in cultural translation not only of Italian culinary traditions but also of the cultural, historical and political aspects of broader Italian society. Culture-specific contents of Italian food and cultural tradition have been retained, explained or adapted through different adjustment techniques which resemble those of interlingual translations in their TV cookery series as well as in cookbooks in order to appeal to UK and international recipients, who do not share either the cultural or the gastronomic background of the chefs' country of origin. I have argued that the TV series under analysis portray two different pictures of Italy: a more idealized, stereotyped one, still linked to family and traditions in the case of Carluccio and Contaldo's series; a more pragmatic, modern and forward looking one in the case of Locatelli's. In particular, I have explored the difference between two diverse types of migration projects, and how these differences are reflected in the words and in the approaches of the TV series hosted by the three chefs, also in connection to their age and the time when they migrated. I argued that in the case of Carluccio and Contaldo, their migration project started as a job opportunity abroad and turned out to be a permanent migration project. The way the episodes are constructed, the way the chefs look back nostalgically at Italy, and at their childhood experiences in the Old Country, is more in line with the findings of Cavallaro (2009) about Calabrian migrants to the UK in the 1970s. As for Locatelli, although some discourse patterns within his TV series are reminiscent of Cavallaro's lexical and thematic clusters, the words of the younger chef often reveal that his project reflects a more recent phase of Italian migration to the UK, starting in the 1980s and continuing well into the new millennium. The chef sees himself as part of an international, broad-minded elite of professionals and intellectuals, with strong roots in their country of origin, who have decided to work in a cosmopolitan environment like London because of the opportunities it offers to

ambitious professionals, which is more in line with the findings of Scotto (2012) and King *et al.* (2014).

The paper also suggests that the sense of identity that emerges from the chefs' accounts links them ambiguously both to an Italian community at home and to a British community in the UK where they have lived for many years and have achieved success. This confirms that food is not a clear-cut marker of cultural identity in a creolized and globalized society (Cheng, 2004; James, 2005) like that of the contemporary West to which these three chefs belong.

References

- AAVV 2006. *Appunto. La comunità Italiana in Gran Bretagna*, Londra: Ambasciata Italiana.
- Carluccio, A. 2012. *Antonio Carluccio's simple Cooking*. London: Quadrille.
- Carluccio, A. and Contaldo, G. 2012. *Two Greedy Italians eat Italy*. London: Quadrille.
- Cavallaro, R. 2009. *Storie senza storia. Indagine sull'emigrazione calabrese in Gran Bretagna*. Napoli: Liguori editore.
- Cheng, V. J. 2004. *Inauthentic: The Anxiety over Culture and Identity*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Chiaro, D. and Rossato, L. 2015. "Food and Translation, Translation and Food". *The Translator*, 21 (3), pp. 237-243.
- Contaldo, G. 2010. *Gennaro's Easy Italian*. London: Headline Publishing Group.
- Colpi, T. 1991. *The Italian Factor: The Italian Community in Great Britain*. London: Mainstream.
- Fortier, A.M. 2000. *Migrant Belongings: Memory, Space, Identity*. Oxford, New-York: Berg.
- Gillespie M. and Tonybee J. (Eds.) 2006. *Analysing Media Texts*. New York: Open University Press.
- Heldke, L. [2001] 2013. "Let's Cook Thai: Recipes for Colonialism." In C. Counihan and P. van Esterik (Eds.), *Food and Culture: A Reader*, London: Routledge, pp. 394-408.
- Heldke, L. 2003. *Exotic Appetites: Ruminations of a Food Adventurer*. New York: Routledge.
- Heldke, L. 2005. "But is it Authentic?: Culinary Travel and the Search for the 'Genuine Article'". In C. Korsmeyer (Ed.), *The Taste Culture Reader: Experiencing food and drink*, Oxford and New York: Berg, pp. 385-394.

- King, R., Lulle, A., Conti, F., Mueller, D., Scotto, G. 2014. "The Lure of London: A comparative Study of recent Graduate Migration from Germany, Italy and Latvia." *Working Paper*. Brighton: SCMR. Available at: https://www.sussex.ac.uk/webteam/gateway/file.php?name=mwp7_5.pdf&site=252 (last accessed 30 April 2020).
- Kress, G. and van Leeuwen, T. 1996. *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*. Oxon and New York: Routledge.
- Kress, G. and van Leeuwen, T. 2001. *Multimodal Discourse: The Modes and Media of Contemporary Communication*. London: Hodder Education, Hachette UK.
- Jagannath, G. 2017. "Foodways and Culinary Capital in the Diaspora: Indian women expatriates in South Africa". *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 26 (2), pp. 107-125.
- James, A. 2005. "Identity and the Global Stew". In C. Korsmeyer (Ed.), *The Taste Culture Reader: Experiencing food and drink*, Oxford and New York: Berg, pp. 372-384.
- Leer, J., and M. K. Kjaer. 2015. "Strange Culinary Encounters: Stranger Fetishism in Jamie's Italian Escape and Gordon's Great Escape." In *Food, Culture and Society*, 18 (2), pp. 309-327. doi:10.2752/175174415X14180391604648.
- Lévi-Strauss, C. 1962. *Totemism*. trans. R. Needham. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Locatelli, G. 2006. *Made in Italy: Food and stories*. London: Fourth Estate.
- Mehta, B. 2009. "Culinary Diasporas". Chapter 3 of Mehta, B., *Notions of Identity, Diaspora, and Gender in Caribbean Women's Writing*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, pp. 89-119.
- Portes, J. and Forte, G. 2017. "The economic impact of Brexit-induced reductions in migration". *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 33 (1), pp. 31-44.
- Rossato, L. 2015. "Le Grand culinary tour: Adaptation and retranslation of a gastronomic journey across languages and food cultures". *The Translator*, 21 (3), pp. 271-295, DOI: 10.1080/13556509.2015.1103096
- Scotto, G. 2012. "From Bedford to London: old and new Italian immigration". In A. Ledgeway and A-L. Lepschy (Eds.), *Le Comunità Immigranti nel Regno Unito: il Caso di Bedford*, Perugia: Edizioni Guerra, pp. 29-37.
- Sponza, L. 1988. *Italian Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Realities and Images*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.
- Warde, A. 1997. *Consumption, Food and Taste*. London: Sage Publications.

Television series and Filmography

Italy Unpacked (BBC, UK 2011-)

[*Two Greedy Italians*](#) (BBC, UK 2011)

Two Greedy Italians: still hungry (BBC, UK, 2012)

Amarcord (Fellini, 1973, Italy)

The Godfather (Coppola, 1972, USA)

Indagine su un cittadino al di sopra di ogni sospetto (Petri, Italy, 1970).