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"I love *the shopping queens*."

The receptions of a coaching show.

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How to decorate one's house, cook for one's friends, get dressed? Fashion coaching shows are part of a fundamental trend: providing advice to individuals in search of private happiness (Gori, Goz, 2006). They have been the subject of narrative analysis (Antoine, 2010), content analysis (Spies, 2009) or focused on the digital devices put in place by the channels to complement these programmes (Spies, 2015; Quemener, 2015).

This study proposes to focus on reception. In addition to the above-mentioned research, the aim is to shed light on viewer motivations based on a reception study using a comparative approach between three types of viewers: those who claim to like these programmes, those who despise them or pretend to ignore them, and those who only appreciate certain aspects of them.

Key words : Communication, image, réception, média, *coaching*.

In order to understand the reception of this coaching programme, three methodological orientations were adopted.

1. The first concerns the choice of the program. It is necessary to choose a programme that has been broadcast for many years in order to better assess how viewers perceive the welfare advice advocated in the programme. It is also important to have analyses of the editorial strategy and content of the programme chosen. The programme *Les reines du shopping* meets both of these requirements. It is broadcast daily on a prime time channel (M6 since 2013) and has sufficient audiences to be examined.

It belongs to the so-called coaching programmes. It is based on the following principle: to put into competition (clothing, in this case) five candidates who apply for the title of "shopping queen" of the week. Each must purchase an outfit and accessories corresponding to the "theme" given by the host (for example, "wearing a trench coat") from a list of stores and a set budget. Each day, the audience follows a different contestant through the aisles of the stores looking for the best possible outfit, trying on clothes, getting their hair and makeup done, etc. The contestants are then asked to buy the best outfit for the week, and the contestant is asked to buy a trench coat and accessories that match the "theme" given by the facilitator (e.g. "wear a trench coat") from a list of stores and a set budget. Each of these stages is commented by a voice-over and the reactions of the other candidates, right up to the final votes and rankings.

The second type of methodological decision concerns the constitution of the panel. This work pursues the same objectives as the one carried out by Len Ang with Dallas. In the 1980s, she proposed to study this American soap opera from the following angle: to understand why a majority of spectators enjoy watching this programme, despite the many criticisms it has been the object of? To do this, she contacted - from readers' letters - both admirers of the Dallas soap opera and viewers opposed to it ("a commercial programme"). Studying the reception of a programme - whether it is Dallas or a coaching programme here - on the basis of the feelings of tastes and dislikes it generates does not mean that this type of research ignores the interest and importance of other logics for analysing reception. However, it does have the advantage of providing rich qualitative data to understand "the textual and socio-cultural parameters" of the pleasure experienced by viewers when listening to a programme (Ang, 1992, p. 126). For example, Len Ang's data allow him to show that viewers' attachment to Dallas is explained by the "emotional realism" they feel when they listen to the family plots of these Texan millionaires, without necessarily adhering to the characters and values defended in the program (Ang, 1985). Similarly, this research conducted on the reception of a coaching program has a targeted objective: to explore "the different ways in which the reader is affected by what he or she reads" (Quéré, 1996, p. 34), it being understood that the pleasure of viewers of the shopping queens will not be due to the "emotional realism" of the program, but to other socio-cultural explanations that will have to be determined.

How can we establish a viewer panel in line with the objectives of this research? Insofar as it is a question of understanding the reasons for pleasure or annoyance experienced when listening to the shopping queens, the analysis requires a consequent survey of two categories of viewers: those who like the show a lot and those who do not. A third, intermediate category was questioned to complete the results: viewers who like the show enough to watch it regularly but not enough to find fault with it.

Another obligation: there must be a sufficient number of respondents to obtain saturation of the data collected. To do this, some of these viewers were solicited on the street: 15 respondents were approached at the exit of the H&M and Berchka stores, because they are Clermont franchises of the signs mentioned in the program. During a semi-directive interview in a tea room next to the shops, people were able to respond in a very user-friendly way to the themes recorded in the interview guide, for an average of half an hour. The choice of the shopping centre was aimed at reaching spectators interested in "fashion culture", to use the candidates' formula. Ten liked the show and five did not. In order to combine the benefits of a qualitative survey with the advantages of a large number of responses, 41 additional respondents were added to this first panel. These 41 additional respondents were either appreciative or disliked viewers of the program among the 140 students who had been surveyed and who had been shown the entire program in its entirety.

In total, this qualitative panel is made up of a group of 20 viewers who like the program unreservedly (Panel A), 23 who like it enough to watch it once a week (Panel B), and 23 who do not like it at all (Panel C).

The combination of these two ways of obtaining respondents made it possible to diversify the profiles of the respondents (men, women, adults of all ages and from different social backgrounds) in the three categories of viewers selected and, as a result, to leave room for a variety of socio-cultural explanations for the results obtained.

The third choice concerns the survey method. This is based on a qualitative approach. Open-ended questions were used in order to understand the reasons for their positive or negative opinions about

2012), with each viewer being presented by the program as an individual master of his or her own destiny (Redden, 2008, p. 486).

How important, then, is the competitive, normative or advisory dimension of the programme to the most assiduous viewers?

1B - A programme of consumer, voyeuristic and collective entertainment.

The initial results are not surprising. *Les reines du shopping* offer a spectacle of relaxation, reminiscent of the formula of Jean-Louis Missika and Dominique Wolton (1984) who credited television with a double attribution: companion and leisure practice.

"TV is a leisure activity and this show is above all a distraction. When I get out of work in the evening, I'm exhausted and I really enjoy watching *Les reines du shopping* on replay. It takes my mind off things, it relaxes me. It doesn't take my mind off things." Swann (20, panel A).

These initial results are recurrent and need to be improved upon. Not surprising for a reception study, they do not call for long explanations, with the exception of one point: the commercial reuse of this recreational practice: "I watch shows and buy the items I miss when I am bored or brooding." (Christine, 34, assistant nurse, Panel A). The shopping queens are part of the channel's programs that link the "home life" of its viewers with "pages of ads correlated to the program universe," with "advertisers [not] reluctant to buy advertising space and product placements in these programs that are based on an enchantment of consumption. "If consumption only offers paradoxical happiness, it responds to a quest for pleasure and discovery that cannot be ignored, what Gilles Lipovetsky calls "the empire of the ephemeral": the acceleration of renewal in fashion and the continuous emergence of new needs (Lipovetsky, 2006). "For some women who like to follow fashion, consulting magazines and catalogues is the first step in thoughtful shopping" (Mathieu, 2011, p. 242). (Mathieu, 2011, p. 242). Shopping queens also offer this possibility. Especially since this distraction and feeling of omnipotence through the act of shopping is experienced in a friendly atmosphere. Watching the shopping queens is also a family pastime: "It's a traditional date with my three daughters. We watch a replay of the shopping queens at seven o'clock and go home to watch the show. We cocoon ourselves. We're under the duvet. We're having fun. Each one has her favourite among the candidates" (Jenna, 45 years old, beautician, panel A).

This testimony echoes François Jost's explanations that "the dream of generalist television, of networks, is to federate the family. As it is not easy, the principle of reality commands a downward aim: to gather the young people around the mother, since they are the ones who prescribe the purchases and she is the one who does the shopping..." (Jenna, 45, aesthetician, panel A). (Jost, 2008, p. 10). In our sample, it appears that these women are the plaything of a gigantic mercantile ready-to-wear enterprise. But do they really want to be duped?

Let's look at distraction from a different angle: when voyeuristic distraction is combined with a proven dilection for reality television, which François Jost again states about television that it "shows intimacy, confession, and offers a platform for all exhibitionist desires or needs for effusions" (Jost, 2002).

"We know how much they spend per month, whether they're in a couple, with children or not... It's very indiscreet, but I love it. It's very indiscreet, but I love it. At least you get to know the character and I make fun of them sometimes." (Catherine 28 years old French teacher, panel A).

"You see some super ugly girls in their underwear in the fitting rooms! Shame!" (Christine, panel A, 34 years old care assistant).

Fun reception? I guess so. The programme acquires the status of an outlet, often collective, where one laughs at the ridicule of others. But "the success of the programme also lies in its concordance with a state of society. Society is ready to receive and hear for hours on end strangers talking about themselves and the functioning of their group" (Mehl, 2002, p. 83). To show oneself in one's daily life is to expose one's intimacy. However, for the "Loft" generation, the image and the inner self are two very different things. Photographed and filmed from all angles, from a very young age, she constructed herself psychically by considering that no image can define her true intimacy, her secret garden, which is what makes her physical and emotional originality (Tisseron, 2003).

In order to understand the attachment of this category of viewers to this distractive dimension of the programme, it should be pointed out that, for the majority of them, listening to the programme is part of a socialization process, with cultural practices proving to be essential for establishing common references "to the world".

"Fridays are "aperitif-poufs". My colleagues and girlfriends meet for the final at home. We bring in our weekly shopping and then we have fittings afterwards. It's a real party. We all get together and drink an aperitif. We dance afterwards. We forget our worries in a mixture of alcohol and laughter" (Estelle 42 years old secretary, panel A).

The pleasure of sharing reinforces the interest in this program. Sharing this listening is, in concrete terms, mastering the glossary used in *Les reines du shopping* as established by Cristina Córdula: "Magnificent" pronounced "faïve", "fashion faux pas", "shake the coconut"... These linguistic and aesthetic experiences allow us to exchange with others. Here, however, the assiduous spectators comment at will on the passage of the candidates. "We have our codes. We understand each other with the candidates. We speak the "Cristina language." (Manolys, 22, art student, Panel A). "Leisure practices are not futile because their substance, the social bond, is their primary function, the reassurance of this bond is done by the production of manifestations of group cohesion." (Yonnet, 1999, p. 290).

We must be careful not to overlook the fact that the social bond remains possible only if, and only if, individuals can give meaning to their existential choices through a cultural context. For behind the theme of the need to belong to a group lies the need for conformity in the face of the dictatorship of fashion.

1 C - Need for social reassurance and self-esteem

The sense of identity and the valence of one's own gaze depend on the gaze of others. The experience of rejection and ostracism can bruise self-esteem and become a source of stress and anxiety.

For young followers, the program is a tool for integration into their respective groups. Fashion is part of a microenvironment that is quick to resolve difficulties in integrating into a group.

"The Queens allow me to be fashionable. You're more accepted when you're hip in college" (Manolys, 22, Fine Arts student, Panel A).

"I think women are great. It reassures me that I look like one of them, for example. I don't think I'm beautiful, but I can see that she manages to get by despite everything: that helps me not to feel on the fringe of the current beauty canons" (Clémence, 18, high school student, Panel A).

"The body ideal constitutes the image of the body towards which the individual tends. This ideal is intimately linked to the socio-cultural context and the corporal ideals present in our societies" (Dany and Morin, 2010, p. 321). David le Breton explains that women are subject to the tyranny of appearance, and the demands of modernity influence the anthropology of the body: "a normative system is based on the aesthetization of social life, on a refined shaping of the body, on an asserted physical elegance" (Le Breton, 2013, p. 193). Jean Michel Berthelot speaks of the importance today of the "ritualization of bodies," that is, the set of marking practices that produce bodily appearance as a sign (clothing, accessories, jewellery)" (Berthelot 1983, p. 127). This ideal of femininity was relayed by women's magazines. From now on, Les Reines du shopping serve the same cause, but they present them in a so-called "real life", in order to help them (it is, in any case, one of the claimed objectives) to restore their self-esteem.

"Since I watch the show, I'm less complex about my curves and my age. There are all kinds of women with different body types.... Cristina has helped me to re-appropriate my body and accept it, to find ways to showcase my assets and hide what's unsightly. It keeps me from going to the shrink. "I know what I should buy and where" (Inès, 73, retired company director, panel A).

In such a way that female beauty is no longer presented as a privilege reserved for a small number of "well-born" women, but as a work of self-appropriation and self-creation, an individual conquest rewarding the merits and talents of all women. Some follow fashion advice to the letter. Others like to assert that they do not, preferring to talk about discovering their style, often described as classic, to suggest that they favour a profile independent of seasonal fashion. These women, perhaps less consuming than others, like to dress in a way that does not look like what is in store. They thus increase their desire for independence and value exclusivity. Everywhere, with the advent of the notion of "look", we see an increasing complexity of social codes relating to appearance. More than in the past, appearance now reveals "external truths, a personality" (Mathieu, 2011, p. 242). Understanding one's morphology, getting rid of one's complexes, finding a suitable garment, mastering the semiotics of clothing, also means knowing oneself better. Self-esteem is also the impression of being of this century. The cult of "branchiness" flirts with culture.

A dictatorship imposed by a dominant cultural model: to be fashionable, beautiful or, failing that, trendy, modern. However, although women are consumers of images, they nevertheless remain actors, making personal and "creative" use of the models proposed: "Let us beware of demonizing women's media: their action must be interpreted both as a means of collective direction of tastes and as a vector of personalization and aesthetic appropriation of the self" (Lipovetsky, 2006, p. 206). Consensual targets, certainly, but without divesting oneself of self-esteem.

In this regaining of self-esteem, these frequent viewers express their gratitude to the host of the program:

"I love the show because it's Cristina. She's my icon. She is beautiful and adorable [...]. She seems so nice. I also watch her other shows about brides and makeovers...I would love to meet her and become friends with her. "(Manolys, 22, student, Panel A).

"I went to the casting at the Centre Jaude in Clermont to hope to see her. "(Jenna, 45, aesthetician, panel A).

Nathalie Heinich (2011) notes a correspondence between idol worship and celebrity consumption, which she then asserts are "practices perceived as essentially popular, iconophilic and idolatrous. Alongside the technical supports of reproduction and repetition, the desire to see also passes through channels that are no longer mediated but immediate, with the search for the presence of the celebrity. Unconditional spectators halo the stars with an almost divine dimension, bowing before their physical grace and their supposed inner beauty. Investing Cristina Córdula with thaumaturgical powers is not surprising in the sense that, if it were not for the nuts, she would heal complexes. The stars would be secular icons, metaphors of angels from the sphere of the marvellous and piety. The relationship we have with their image is often irrational. It is therefore not abusive to claim that the practices of peopolization, the "mass mediated" icons, are exercised and institutionalized in a ritualized manner, as a form of secular liturgy. The feeling of religiosity that the animator enjoys makes it possible to fill an emotional void, a need to believe, to revere a modern hero, an emblematic figure, a model.

Whether for entertainment or to improve one's self-image by comparing oneself to other candidates, this program has no shortage of reasons to be watched daily by its unconditional spectators. In comparison, what about spectators who don't like it?

2 - Spectators who do not like the programme

These viewers cite three types of reasons.

2 A - Unfair competitors

The first are related to the mechanics of the program. They relate to the tone of the program. This is true of the voice-over, which is considered to be bitingly ironic when it seeks to exaggerate the features of each of the candidates in order to fit them into defined narrative categories ("the princess", "the fashion designer", etc.) and even more so in the case of participants who are considered hypocritical and mean to the other candidates:

"I have the impression that in the program we make fun of the candidates a little, it's true that I do it on some of them because I have the feeling that the candidates are doing a bit too much to be seen, I find it disturbing in some cases" (Hélène, student, 20 years old, panel B).

"What I like the least is probably the hypocrisy between the candidates. They are mean-spirited boundaries between them. The candidates just want to win and are ready to take the others down. "(Maëva, student, 18 years old, panel C).

"It's a cruel show that brings out in people what's beneath them... the voyeuristic, mean, critical and unhealthy side. The contestants are hyenas among themselves and the spectators wallow in a climate of harsh criticism and slander... " (Adrien, 24, student, panel C).

Why are these remarks considered so embarrassing by the reluctant spectators to the program to the point of justifying their reservations when they evoke it?

Indeed, viewers are aware that they are commenting on a programme based on competition between candidates, in other words a programme that allows comparison and negative evaluation. In fact, it is less the possibility of judgements that is at issue than the ways in which these judgements are made: public criticism is admissible, but only under certain conditions. These conditions are not met here. Thus, "in situations that appear to be non-public, people may very well criticize (and they generally do), but they are not obliged to justify what they say very much beforehand - at least to justify it as much as they should if they were in public" (Cardon, Heurtin and Lemieux, 1995, p. 13). In private, these judgments can be made by simple "assertions," "self-serving claims" (Ibid.). But what is tolerated in private is not tolerated in public: critical statements (likes and dislikes, racist remarks, rumours, etc.) must be objectified or (self)-censored (Ibid., p. 14), developed "in the required forms - i.e. 'objective', deindexed" (Ibid., p. 14), at the risk of otherwise passing for "easy" and "gratuitous" attacks. However, the criticisms made by candidates in front of the cameras about their competitors' outfits do not meet this requirement of objectivity here. This is the reproach made by all the spectators who regret the bad marks opportunely given by the candidates devaluing others in order to value themselves in return.

These criticisms are therefore not only judged to be "not very objective". They are also considered inauthentic. To understand why this behaviour is not appreciated by a significant number of viewers, one must consider the evolution of values since the 1960s. The values of sincerity and authenticity are among the values - i.e. judgements that regulate behaviour - that are becoming increasingly important in Europe (Rezsöházy, 2006). In order to behave and act fairly it is, from this point of view, not acceptable to cheat and "that there is a contradiction between what a person says and what he or she does" (Ibid., p. 88), just as it is considered increasingly important to behave honestly, sincerely and loyally (Ibid., p. 107).

In this respect, the answers given by the third case studied (Panel B) are enlightening. While they find this programme entertaining, they have many reservations. These grievances are sufficient to watch little, if any, of the programme by default :

"Even though I'm not a fan of the reactions and inspections played by the contestants, I can't say I hate them. I just don't necessarily appreciate certain things such as nastiness, stupidity" (Anne-Charlotte, student, 20 years old, panel B).

"This show can be fun in small doses because some of the people on it are quite caricatural, but they can quickly become exhausting" (Emma, 18, student, panel B).

(Emma, 18, student panel B). The reactions of these viewers are ambivalent, mixing curiosity about the candidates and embarrassment about some of their behaviours. They choose and negotiate what they like and what they dislike, mixing comments of opposition and adaptation to the program (Hall, 1980). These criticisms limit the interest and enjoyment that these viewers derive from the competitive dimension of the program. Thus, these criticisms do not relate to the very principle of competition but to its implementation, which does not take place in accordance with the rules of fair play. Thus, for viewers to be fully satisfied with the programme, two conditions must be met: they

must find both interest in the advice given on clothing and pleasure in the way in which that advice is staged and integrated into the promised suspense. In such a way that comments that fall under a regime of criticism that is internal to the logic of the programme are, in this sense, stronger than criticisms that fall under an external logic.

More frontally, it is the refusal to be imposed a standard of dress that repels this category of viewers.

2B - Refusal of coaching

The normative dimension of the program is repugnant to some members of the public, who do not understand that the host gives advice on clothing and exaggerates her role as a coach:

"But who is this good woman to allow herself to break or magnify this or that style? It seems to me that she is neither the designer Isabelle Marant, nor Christian Lacroix? She's just sponsored by brands... and she has too much influence on the spectators who standardize their looks with her oukases" (Arnaud, 30 years old, military, panel C).

"The advice? I don't really take it into account. I confess that I dress with what I like and like I want to. And I think that [...] we should stop trying to please a model of society, and start with ourselves" (Orane, 18, student, panel C).

"I don't find the concept interesting. Having to dress according to fashion standards is, I find, rather simplistic. Moreover, the contempt of the candidates for each other shows a real closed-mindedness" (Clarisse, 20 years old, student, panel C).

How can this be explained? Marie-Ève Lang's work has shown that the multiplication of thin women's bodies in magazines generates a feeling of dissatisfaction with one's own body, and even of frank insecurity among some of the female readers (Lang, 2012). For these viewers, the clothing standard is not "self-evident" from the outset. Learning to behave in a normalized manner may go through a few periods of friction. All societies are characterized by respect for behaviour (in this case, clothing behaviour) that is considered "normal", "respectful", "in line with what is expected", the imposition of a clothing standard is also characterized by a proven "artificiality" (of which the history of clothing fashions is the most obvious symbol) and is therefore more a matter of "desirable" (and partially negotiable) than strictly mandatory standards (such as the ban on killing), to use the distinction of Montoussié and Renouard (2006, p. 73). Two characteristics that favour and explain the critical distance taken by a proportion of viewers with regard to the normative ambition of the program.

2C - Male viewers' critical stance

A third register of critical reading remains - this one. In addition to qualitative data, this survey offers another type of teaching given the size of the panel surveyed and a recurring response element from the male panel. Out of the 120 people interviewed after listening to an episode of *The Queens of Shopping*, 22 are men (this observation can be formulated as a percentage for the sake of readability: 18.3% of the panel is made up of men). 23 of these 120 viewers take a critical look at the show. However, 15 of these 23 viewers are men (in other words, 65.2% of the viewers who do not like the programme are men). Since this part of the panel is made up of viewers of equivalent ages and

education levels (students), this difference is part of a gendered explanatory framework, which is reflected in numerous comments :

"No, I couldn't be on the show. I don't want to make a fool of myself in front of the whole of France" (Yann, student, 21 years old, panel C).

"This show is too much based on the cliché of the woman who judges appearance above all else. [...] Participate? I'm a man. Even if there was a show for men of this type, I wouldn't take part" (Terry, 19, student, panel C).

(Terry, 19, student, panel C) "No, I don't want to participate. I'm a man and I'm not interested in fashion" (Jeffrey, panel C).

I'm a man and I'm not interested in fashion." (Jeffrey, Panel C) "Fashion shows are not something I can watch" (Pierrick, Panel C).

How do you explain this type of reaction? Are these male viewers reluctant to watch fashion shows, or are they just reluctant to hear how the show talks about fashion?

The literature on reception studies has shown this: whether it be for reading the daily press (the hierarchy of the sections read as a priority differs between men and women: Debras, 2003) or fiction, there are differences in reception according to gender, with readers or spectators being slightly more attracted to certain themes (e.g. sport) than female readers; this can be explained - in particular - by differences in the education given to girls and boys, differences in sociability according to gender, etc. (Pierrick, panel C). (For a synthesis, see Petrovic, 2004).

However, while there are generally differences in the interpretation of programmes related to gender, here the differences are particularly strong because they can be explained in two ways.

For the first, the results of research into the reception of gender stereotypes in television drama must be taken into account. However caricatural they may be, male or female gender stereotypes are not perceived as particularly problematic for the viewers interviewed by Laëtitia Biscarrat. From their point of view, gender stereotypes promote the understanding of the story. They thus make it easier to reach the audience. Moreover, for viewers interested in the story of the series "stereotypes encourage adherence [...] to the series. The unequal relationship that underlies them is not denounced by the students who have adopted this receiving posture" (Biscarrat, 2013). If a stereotype is perceived positively for a viewer who identifies with the character, does this not have the opposite effect for viewers who do not correspond to the target audience? Retranscribed to coaching programmes whose production is primarily aimed at a female audience and features exclusively female characters, does the way in which some of the female candidates overact not have the effect of being interpreted by the male spectators as further proof that the programme should be viewed as a gendered programme and, therefore, that they do not correspond to the audience primarily targeted?

A second type of explanation comes from the sociology of clothing. As studies on the role played by gender identity in clothing practices teach us, men report that they "do not 'pay much attention' to what they choose in their wardrobe in the morning, unlike women". Paying attention to one's appearance is, therefore, primarily a matter of "making yourself clean" (in a suit or jeans and T-shirt, depending on the occasion) "rather than choosing your clothes carefully [...]. Most of the men interviewed ... said that they do not attach much importance to the image they project to others"

(Lett 2016, p. 172). Of course, learning about dress codes is part of the construction of a masculine or feminine identity (Moulin, 2005). In *Les reines du shopping*, it happens through the advice of the host and the comments of the other candidates. However, it is not surprising to note that this learning of the "behind-the-scenes aspects of femininity" (Moulin, *Ibid.*) is of less interest to the spectators than to the female spectators.

Conclusion

What do the viewers who watch the programme regularly appreciate? It is, unsurprisingly, considered entertaining. They take pleasure in watching this program that defends the pleasure of consumption; and even in doing so in a voyeuristic way, by entering into the intimacy of the week's contestants. But this program is especially looked at for the clothing advice it gives, even if it means accepting the norms of "dressing well". These viewers find themselves well in the question formulated by the artist Mona Junger-Aghababaie: "How am I going to dress tomorrow?". "for my meeting, for my interview, for a walk, for my wedding, for my birthday, etc. [...] When I dress, I also dress my identity. Clothes represent my gender, my profession, my generation... Thus, clothes have the power to conceal or reveal levels of reality. In this sense, clothing constructs our identity by deconstructing our reality" (Junger-Aghababaie, 2013). These assiduous spectators are thus eager to adapt to the rules of dress that govern the social world while being seduced by the competitive and playful dimension of the programme, which becomes an outlet, often collective. How can this point of view be explained? This rise in the ascendancy of coaches reveals a need for individual recognition (helping to re-appropriate one's body and accept it) and social integration. In any case, these assiduous spectators boast of having found in Cristina Córdula a mentor, a guide, a fashion icon, an ideal that is irrational.

Why, on the other hand, is it that some viewers do not appreciate these programmes and do not watch them? Three explanations emerge. First, they refute the legitimacy of the host to set herself up as a clothing guide, thus directly opposing the viewpoint of the regular viewers. But two other explanations are added to this oppositional reading. One is a gendered explanation that goes beyond the strict framework of the production of this program: *Les reines du shopping* unveils the backstage of femininity and participates in the construction of a feminine identity that does not interest many male viewers. However, it should be noted that this second reading was in a way anticipated by the channel, which clearly chose to address women.

The other reveals the growing importance attached by these viewers to standards of candour and honesty. It is an internal criticism made by viewers who do not question the principle of giving the rules of "good taste in dress" but whose scope is nevertheless very critical in that it distances viewers who accept the principle from the programme.

What conclusions can be drawn from this comparison?

The first is that while the reading of the audience who like the programme and those who don't is opposed, the debate is not about understanding the programme. In fact, everyone sees in the programme the characteristics highlighted by its analysts: a programme based on competition and the importance given to the normalization of the body. On the other hand, they disagree on the interpretation to be made of these characteristics. When the former accept the idea of being coached in "their own interest", the others refute the principle. When the former see critical comments against competitors as a way to reassure themselves at the latter's expense, the latter see in the program a device that encourages "dishonesty". From this comparison, it is clear that two

conditions are necessary to be fully satisfied with the program. The viewer must both adhere to the idea of continuous improvement and perfectibility of his or her appearance and to the way in which this advice is staged, whether out of curiosity (how do people from a social background other than mine dress?), out of a concern for sharing (watching together) and without seeing in the comments made a gratuitous nastiness deemed unbearable.

On a theoretical level, a second assessment must be drawn from this comparison: the importance that there is - more and more - to take into account "the gendered dimension of the spectatorial experience". For, basically, the feminization of a large number of programmes broadcast in prime time access by the major channels is indeed a reflection of a certain feminization of television culture. And this evolution of programming strategies should encourage the study of "cultural socialization according to gender" (October 2010). The results of this comprehensive analysis of the receptions that like or dislike this coaching program plead in any case in this direction.