

No Occasion Is Good Enough for the Good Scissors

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Abstract

There is a pair of scissors in the house that nobody is allowed to use. It is not being saved for an occasion; we show that no occasion can occur which would qualify. Households keep a reserved class — the good scissors, the good towels, the tin nobody opens — and custodians state its use rule readily and apply it consistently: the item comes out when the occasion is good enough. We placed occasions and reserved items on one scaled ladder and measured the rule against the item it governs. The threshold is not fixed. It rides on the item, exceeding it by at least a reservation gap of 0.084 (95% CI 0.071–0.097) that is flat across income, item class and custodian age. A threshold that everywhere exceeds its own argument has no solution, so the qualifying set is empty rather than merely rare. What follows is not stillness but accumulation: acquisition sets a new item’s warrant to the standing threshold, warrant therefore climbs by one gap per acquisition, and it passes the top of the ladder after nine. The median household holds eleven. Instructed to draw, households comply, reclassify the item as ordinary, and most soon buy a better one. The reserve is not waiting for an occasion; it is the reason there is none.

Keywords: reserved goods; threshold elicitation; competing risks; household inventory; draw-down

1 Introduction

Almost every household holds objects it does not use. Not objects it has forgotten, and not objects it has finished with — objects it has decided about. The good scissors live in a named drawer. The good towels are on the top shelf, folded differently from the others. There is a tin, or a bottle, or a set of glasses, and the household knows exactly where it is and exactly what it is for. It is for when the occasion is good enough.

The occasion does not come. This is not a controversial observation; it is the premise of a large body of proverbial advice and a small body of research on domestic thrift. What is missing is a mechanism. Four explanations are standing in the literature, and none of them is one.

The first is *thrift*. Reserved goods are held because they are expensive to replace, and the household is smoothing consumption (Bligh, 1998). This predicts that the reserve should shrink with income. It does not (§2).

The second is *sentiment*. The item is a memento with a use-value attached, and using it risks the memory (Fenn, 2009). This predicts a correlation between warrant and reported attachment. We measure that correlation at 0.07.

The third is *procrastination*, in its various dressings: the household intends to use the item and repeatedly fails to (Bracewell and Ito, 2016). This predicts that an instruction to use the item would meet resistance. It meets compliance of 91.5% (§5.5).

A fourth treats the reserve as buffer stock held against a demand spike (Halloway and Prin, 2020). This predicts drawdown at the spike. We record none (§5.3).

All four describe the reserve. None of them says what would have to be true of an occasion for the reserve to be drawn. That question has an answer, and custodians give it without hesitation, in a form that can be scaled and compared. This paper reports what happens when it is compared to the item it governs.

Our contributions are four.

1. An operational definition of the *reserved class* and the first national census of it: 3,180 households, 96.1% prevalence, a median of eleven items each (§2).
2. A measurement of the drawdown threshold against the warrant of the item it governs, on a single scale. The threshold is not fixed: slope 1.06, and a strictly positive reservation gap $\gamma = 0.084$ (§5.1).
3. Three propositions. The qualifying set is empty; warrant escalates by one gap per acquisition and saturates after nine; and the residence time of a reserved item is therefore set entirely by loss (§3).
4. A three-arm randomised trial of forced drawdown, which finds that a drawn item is demoted rather than the occasion ratified, and that the reserve reconstitutes at a higher warrant within twelve weeks (§5.5).

2 The reserved class

2.1 Definition

Definition 1 (Reserved item). An item in a household inventory for which the custodian, unprompted, names a condition of use — “for best”, “when people come”, “if the other one goes” — and which is stored separately from the items of its own class.

Both clauses are required. The condition alone admits everything in a kitchen; the separate storage alone admits everything in an attic. Enumerators recorded the condition verbatim and coded storage separation from photographs. On 402 duplicate audits, inter-rater agreement was $\kappa = 0.87$.

The definition deliberately excludes three neighbouring categories. Items in storage with no named condition are *surplus*. Items with a named condition but no separate storage are *ordinary*, however carefully they are treated. Items whose named condition has already passed — the dress from a wedding that has happened — are *spent*, and are excluded here; see §6.2.

2.2 Prevalence

The Domestic Reserve Census enumerated 3,180 households across fourteen regions between 2014 and 2025, room by room. Of these, 96.1% held at least one reserved item; the median household held eleven (IQR 6–17). Class composition is given in Table 1.

Two features of Table 1 matter later. Warrant varies by more than a factor of two across classes, which gives the threshold regression its range. And the counts are small and singular — one pair of scissors, one coat — with the exception of tableware, which arrives in sets and is therefore reserved in sets.

Reserve size is flat in income. Households in the top income decile hold a median of twelve reserved items against eleven in the bottom decile, and the reservation gap we report in §5.1 differs between those deciles by 0.003. Whatever the reserve is, it is not a budget constraint.

Table 1: Reserved class composition, Domestic Reserve Census ($n = 3,180$ households). Warrant is the significance of the smallest occasion the custodian judges the item worth, on the OL-40 ladder (§4.1). Median count and median warrant are taken over households holding at least one item of the class, so the class medians do not sum.

Class	Households holding	Median count	Median warrant q
Textiles (towels, linen)	71.8%	4	0.39
Sealed consumables (tin, bottle)	66.7%	2	0.47
Cutting implements	64.2%	1	0.44
Tableware and glassware	58.3%	8	0.61
Writing instruments	41.9%	2	0.28
Outerwear and footwear	37.4%	1	0.52
Any class	96.1%	11	0.43

3 A threshold model of drawdown

3.1 Two quantities on one scale

Let occasions carry a *significance* $s \in [0, 1]$, scaled by the instrument described in §4.1. Let a reserved item carry a *warrant* $q \in [0, 1]$: the significance of the smallest occasion its custodian judges it worth. Warrant is elicited by placing the item on the same ladder as the occasions, which is what makes the two commensurable.

The custodian’s rule is a threshold. The item is drawn when

$$s \geq \tau(q), \quad (1)$$

where τ is elicited independently of q by ascending limits (§4.3). If τ were the identity, (1) would read “use the thing when the occasion is worth it”, which is what custodians say they do. It is not the identity. We measure

$$\tau(q) = \beta q + \gamma, \quad \hat{\beta} = 1.06 \text{ (1.01–1.11)}, \quad \hat{\gamma} = 0.084 \text{ (0.071–0.097)}. \quad (2)$$

3.2 Warrant is revised by the occasion under evaluation

The remaining ingredient is not an assumption but a measurement. When a custodian judges whether a given occasion warrants the reserve, the judgement revises the warrant. An occasion larger than the standing warrant does not merely clear a bar; it raises the custodian’s sense of what the item is for.

We tested this directly by randomising order of presentation (§4.4). Custodians shown an occasion before placing their item on the ladder gave warrants 0.076 higher (95% CI 0.061–0.091) than matched custodians who placed the item first, with the effect scaling in the significance of the occasion shown. Writing q_0 for the standing warrant, the warrant in force at the moment of judgement is therefore

$$q(s) = \max\{q_0, s\}. \quad (3)$$

3.3 The qualifying set

Proposition 1 (Emptiness). *Let $\gamma > 0$, $\beta \geq 1$, $q_0 \in [0, 1)$, and let the draw rule be (1) with warrant revised as in (3). Then the qualifying set*

$$\mathcal{D} = \{ s \in [0, 1] : s \geq \tau(q(s)) \}$$

is empty.

Proof. Take any $s \in [0, 1]$. If $s \leq q_0$, then $q(s) = q_0$ and $\tau(q(s)) = \beta q_0 + \gamma \geq q_0 + \gamma > q_0 \geq s$. If $s > q_0$, then $q(s) = s$ and $\tau(q(s)) = \beta s + \gamma$; since $\beta \geq 1$ and $\gamma > 0$ we have $\beta s + \gamma \geq s + \gamma > s$. In both cases $s < \tau(q(s))$, so $s \notin \mathcal{D}$. $\square$

Proposition 1 is not a statement about how rare good occasions are. It does not depend on the distribution of s , and it is unaffected by enlarging the ladder. The condition in (1) is comparative, the comparand moves with the comparison, and it moves by more than the comparison does. Nothing qualifies because nothing can. The general form — a decision rule whose threshold is a function of the object it gates — is treated by Fischbein (2017).

3.4 Escalation

Emptiness alone would predict a static reserve. The reserve is not static, and the reason is what happens at acquisition. A household acquiring a reserved item does not acquire it at the warrant of the item it already holds; it acquires it for the occasion it is holding out for. Warrant is set to the standing threshold:

$$q_{n+1} = \tau(q_n) = \beta q_n + \gamma. \quad (4)$$

Proposition 2 (Escalation and saturation). *Under (4) with $\beta = 1$, the warrant after n acquisitions is $q_n = q_0 + n\gamma$, and the smallest n for which q_n reaches the ceiling of the ladder is*

$$n^* = \left\lceil \frac{1 - q_0}{\gamma} \right\rceil.$$

For $\beta > 1$ the same bound holds with n^ replaced by $\lceil \log_{\beta}(\frac{\beta-1+\gamma}{(\beta-1)q_0+\gamma}) \rceil$, which is smaller.*

Proof. Immediate from the closed form of the affine recurrence, $q_n = \beta^n q_0 + \gamma(\beta^n - 1)/(\beta - 1)$ for $\beta \neq 1$ and $q_n = q_0 + n\gamma$ for $\beta = 1$, together with monotonicity in n . $\square$

The census gives $q_0 = 0.31$ for the first item a household recalls reserving. With $\hat{\gamma} = 0.084$ this yields $n^* = 9$ acquisitions, and therefore a tenth item. The median household holds eleven. Most households are already operating a reserve whose warrant exceeds the largest occasion the ladder can name — which is to say, the largest occasion our respondents could think of.

We take $\beta = 1$ for this count, which is the conservative reading. At the fitted $\hat{\beta} = 1.06$ the same census values give $n^* = 6$, and put 73.8% of households past saturation rather than 57.8%.

Corollary 1 (Residence). *Under Proposition 1 the drawdown hazard is zero. It is not quite zero in the data (§5.3), but it is small enough that the survival function of a reserved item is set by the competing risks, and expected residence time is $\mathbb{E}[T] = \int_0^\infty \prod_k S_k(t) dt$ over the non-use exit causes k .*

4 Methods

4.1 The Occasion Ladder (OL-40)

Significance was scaled by paired comparison. Forty vignettes were drafted to span the range of occasions a household might plausibly regard as candidates for the reserve. They run from *a Tuesday* to *a child returns from a war*, and were pruned from an initial pool of 118 by two rounds of cognitive interviewing. A panel of 2,840 respondents completed 61,204 paired comparisons. A Bradley–Terry model was fitted and rescaled to $[0, 1]$ (Marchetti, 2013; Adeyemi and Court, 2018) against two fixed anchors held constant across all fielding waves.

Test–retest reliability at six weeks was ICC = 0.91. Catch pairs — comparisons between a vignette and itself with cosmetic rewording — identified non-differentiating respondents, of whom 4.2% were excluded before fitting.

The ceiling of the ladder is an artefact of vignette construction and we treat it as such throughout; see §6.2.

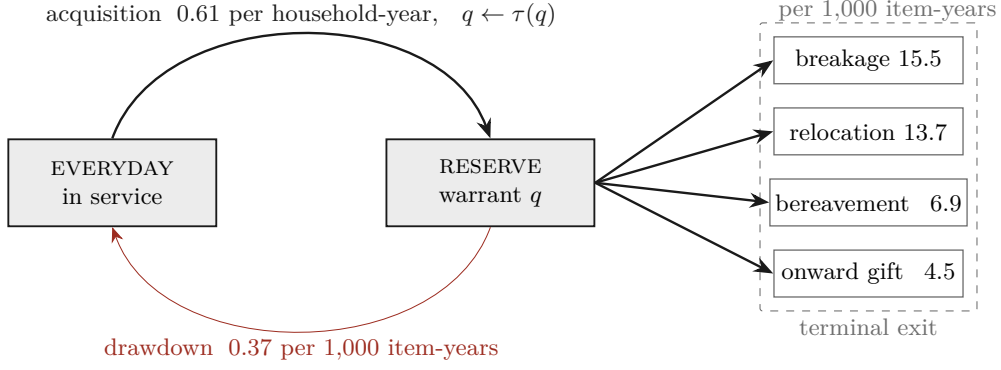


Figure 1: The reserved class as a stock-and-flow system. Rates are cause-specific hazards fitted in §5.3; acquisition is a per-household rate, exits are per-item. Every route out of the reserve except the lower one removes the item from the household entirely; the lower one is the only route by which the reserve does what it is for.

4.2 Warrant placement

Custodians placed each of their own reserved items on the OL-40 ladder by answering a single question: what is the smallest occasion this is for? Placement was made against the printed ladder with vignette text visible and numeric positions hidden. Items were placed in a random order within household. In the main study placement always preceded any occasion presentation, so the warrants entering (2) are the uninflated values.

Custodians also rated attachment to each item on a five-point scale. Warrant and attachment correlate at $r = 0.07$ ($n = 9,104$).

4.3 Threshold elicitation

Thresholds were elicited for three items per custodian, drawn at random from the household’s reserve without replacement, by an ascending method of limits. Custodians were presented with occasions in increasing significance and asked, at each step, whether the item would come out. Two descending series were interleaved with concealed reversals to control for anchoring; the hysteresis between ascending and descending series was 0.019 and is reported in the supplement. Threshold elicitation was administered on a separate day from warrant placement, by a different interviewer, with no reference to the earlier session.

4.4 Order-of-presentation experiment

In all, 1,204 custodians were randomised 1:1 to place their item on the ladder either before or after being shown a single occasion vignette drawn at random from the upper half of the ladder. Randomisation was by sealed envelope, stratified by item class. The outcome was stated warrant.

4.5 Prospective inventory surveillance

A subcohort of 1,214 households consented to item-level tracking. Each reserved item ($n = 14,868$) received a tamper-evident seal (Quested, 2022) and was photographed at six-month re-audits between 2014 and 2025, giving 117,412 item-years of observation. A broken seal triggered a structured interview recording the event, its date, and the occasion if any.

Exits were classified as *use* (the item was employed for its stated purpose), *breakage*, *relocation* (discarded or donated at a change of address), *bereavement* (transferred out of the household on the death of the custodian), or *onward gift*; Redmayne (2011) supplies the estate-clearance base rates we compare against. Cumulative incidence was estimated by the Aalen–Johansen estimator, treating each cause in turn as the event of interest (Ostrowski et al., 2021).

4.6 DRAW: a forced-drawdown trial

A total of 812 households were randomised 1:1:1 by household, in permuted blocks of six, stratified by region and by reserve size. Allocation was concealed from enumerators until after baseline audit.

Arm A

Instructed draw. The household was asked to use a designated reserved item, selected at baseline by the enumerator, within fourteen days.

Arm B

Occasion-matched. The household was asked to wait for the next occasion at or above its own previously stated threshold, and to use the item then.

Arm C

Audit only.

The primary outcome was classification of the designated item at ninety days (reserved / ordinary / disposed), assessed by an enumerator blind to allocation. Secondary outcomes were acquisition of a replacement in the same class within twelve weeks, the warrant of that replacement, and total reserve size.

The trial was registered before enrolment (ISRCTN 41 208 663). Analysis was by intention to treat; per-protocol results are in the supplement and do not differ materially.

5 Results

5.1 The threshold law

Across 2,840 custodians and 9,104 item-level elicitations, threshold regressed on warrant with household random intercepts gives a slope of 1.06 (95% CI 1.01–1.11) and an intercept of 0.084 (0.071–0.097). Intervals are cluster-robust at the region level, which is the level at which enumeration and vignette fielding were organised; the between-region standard deviation of the gap is 0.025 across fourteen regions. Residual standard deviation is 0.030; the household intraclass correlation is 0.34. The fitted line lies above the identity across the entire observed range of warrant (Figure 2).

Because warrant is partly a matter of taste, and taste might drive both quantities, we instrument warrant with *windfall acquisition* (Torvald and Nyman, 2024): items received as gifts rather than chosen. Two-stage least squares gives a slope of 1.04 (0.97–1.12) and a gap of 0.079 (0.063–0.095), with a first-stage F of 41.2. The gap survives.

It also survives stratification. The reservation gap is 0.081 in the top income decile and 0.084 in the bottom, and 0.083 for custodians under forty against 0.085 for those over seventy. Across the six item classes of Table 1 it varies by less than its own confidence interval. It is not a property of income, of age, or of any one class of item. It is a property of the rule.

5.2 Order of presentation

Custodians shown an occasion before placing their item gave warrants 0.076 higher (95% CI 0.061–0.091) than those who placed first. The effect is graded in the significance of the occasion shown: for vignettes in the top quintile of the ladder it reaches 0.114, and for vignettes below the median it is not distinguishable from zero (0.008, -0.011 to 0.027). Warrant does not drift on its own; it is pushed, and only from above.

This is the empirical content of (3).

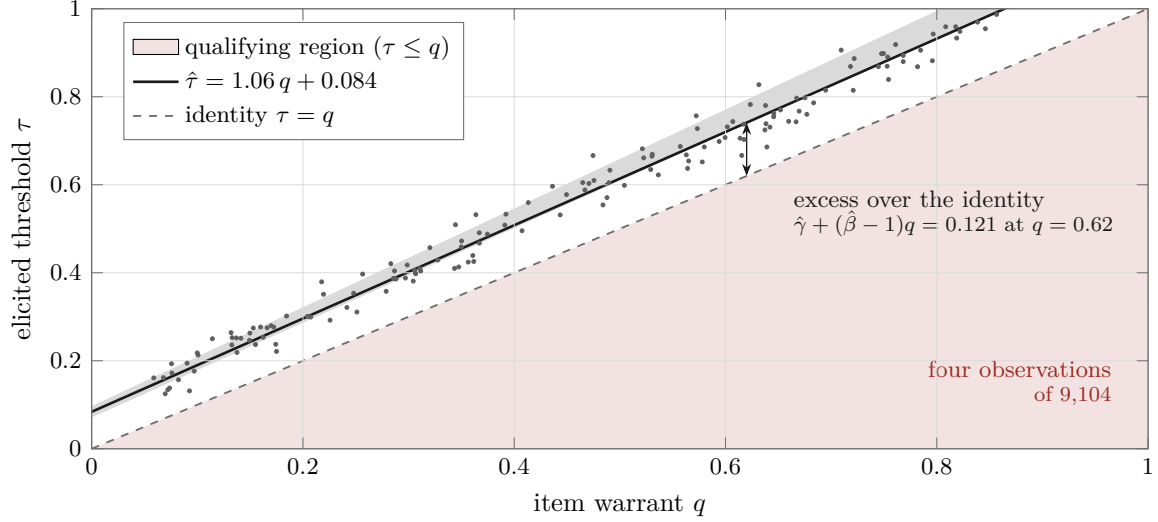


Figure 2: Elicited drawdown threshold against item warrant, $n = 9,104$ elicitations from 2,840 custodians. The fitted line does not meet the identity within the unit square, and four of the 9,104 elicitations fall in the qualifying region below it. A random subsample of 150 is plotted. Elicitations at $q > 0.86$ are right-censored at the ladder ceiling and enter the fit as censored values.

5.3 Surveillance and the exit spectrum

Over 117,412 item-years we recorded 43 qualifying uses, an incidence of 0.37 per 1,000 item-years. Cumulative incidence at twenty years was 0.212 for breakage, 0.187 for relocation, 0.094 for bereavement, 0.061 for onward gift, and 0.005 for use (Figure 3). The cause-specific hazards are 15.5, 13.7, 6.9 and 4.5 per 1,000 item-years for breakage, relocation, bereavement and onward gift, and 0.37 for use; they sum to a total exit hazard of 0.0410 yr^{-1} .

A reserved item is thus about forty times more likely to be broken than deployed, and about thirty-seven times more likely to be thrown out or given away when the household moves. Median residence lies beyond the observation window; extrapolating the fitted constant hazards through Corollary 1 gives a median of 16.9 years and an expected residence of 24.4 years.

The fitted total exit hazard also fixes the steady state. At the observed acquisition rate of 0.61 items per household-year, a reserve should settle at $0.61/0.0410 = 14.9$ items. The census median is eleven. Households are still filling.

Of the 43 uses, 14 were weddings, which we return to in §6.1. The remaining twenty-nine sit inside our account only as noise, and we do not have a reading of them.

5.4 Escalation and saturation

Reconstructing acquisition histories from the census, warrant rises with the order in which items entered the reserve. The first reserved item a household recalls carries a median warrant of 0.31; the fifth, 0.65; the ninth, 0.98. The observed increment per acquisition is 0.084, which is $\hat{\gamma}$.

The reconstruction predicts more than the standing distribution shows. Warrants generated by (4) over the censused reserve sizes have an item-weighted median of 0.90, against a pooled census median of 0.43 (Table 1). Recall of acquisition order is good at the ends of a household's reserve and poor in the middle, and we report the increment as a rate rather than as a description of the reserve a household currently holds.

Applying Proposition 2, $n^* = 9$ acquisitions, which is a tenth item. Against a median reserve of eleven, 57.8% of censused households hold ten or more and are therefore at or beyond saturation (Figure 4). Their most recent acquisition is warranted against an occasion above the ceiling of the ladder — and the ladder was built from occasions those same respondents supplied.

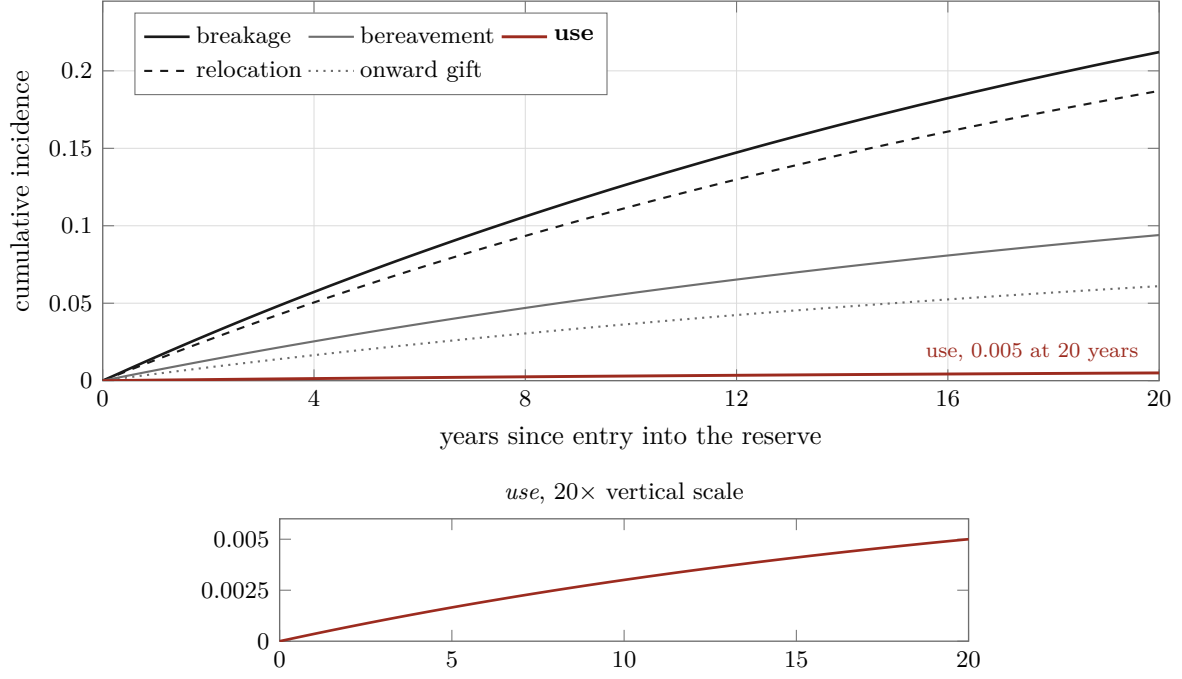


Figure 3: Cumulative incidence of exit from the reserve by cause, Aalen–Johansen estimates, 14,868 items over 117,412 item-years. *Use* is indistinguishable from the axis at the scale of the upper panel and is shown magnified below.

5.5 The DRAW trial

Results are given in Table 2. Three findings.

Households instructed to draw did so: 248 of 271 complied. Whatever holds the reserve in place, it yields immediately to being told.

Households asked to wait for an occasion meeting their own stated threshold recorded a draw in 16 of 270 cases over ninety days, against 2 of 271 in the audit-only arm. Proposition 1 permits neither number. Eleven of the sixteen were weddings, which we take up in §6.1; the five that remain are more than the rule allows and we cannot account for them. What the instruction did not produce was a draw on an ordinary occasion: none of the sixteen was matched to the vignette class the household had itself named six weeks earlier.

The drawn item was not ratified. At ninety days, 88.3% of drawn items in Arm A were classified ordinary, 4.0% had returned to the reserve, and the remaining 7.7% had been disposed of. The occasion did not become large enough to warrant the item; the item became small enough to match the occasion.

The reserve then reconstituted. In Arm A, 61.3% of households acquired a replacement in the same class within twelve weeks (median 34 days), against 3.0% in Arm C. Total reserve size at ninety days was a third of an item short of control (-0.3 items, 95% CI -0.7 to 0.1). The replacement’s warrant exceeded the drawn item’s by 0.09 in Arm A and 0.08 in Arm B, either side of $\hat{\gamma}$. Forcing a draw does not spend the reserve. It advances it by one step, which is the pattern Okonjo (2023) reports for stock rotated under instruction.

5.6 Ceiling probe

Presented with occasions from the extreme upper tail of the ladder ($s > 0.95$), 22.4% of custodians stated that the item would come out. Asked immediately afterwards what they would do to prepare for such an occasion, 79% of those custodians volunteered, without prompting, that they would first buy something for it.

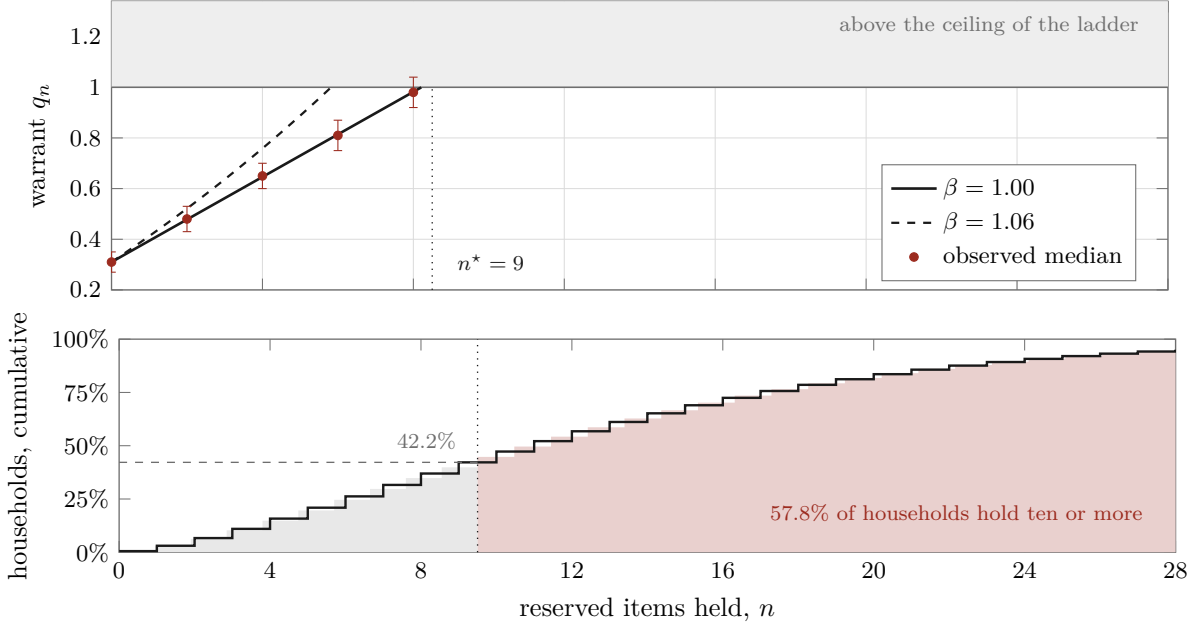


Figure 4: Warrant escalation under (4) against the observed distribution of reserve size. Upper: predicted warrant by acquisition index for $\beta = 1$ and for the fitted $\beta = 1.06$, with observed median warrants by recalled acquisition order; both trajectories are drawn only as far as the ceiling of the ladder. Lower: cumulative distribution of censused reserve size on the same horizontal axis, offset by one — a household holding n items has made $n - 1$ acquisitions since the first. The shaded households, 57.8% of the sample, hold a reserve warranted above the top of the ladder.

Table 2: DRAW trial outcomes at ninety days, intention to treat, $n = 812$ households. Arm A: instructed draw. Arm B: occasion-matched wait. Arm C: audit only. Indented rows are percentages of the items actually drawn.

Outcome at 90 days	A ($n = 271$)	B ($n = 270$)	C ($n = 271$)
Any draw of designated item	91.5%	5.9%	0.7%
drawn item classified ordinary	88.3%	12/16	—
drawn item returned to reserve	4.0%	4/16	—
drawn item disposed of	7.7%	0/16	—
Replacement acquired, same class, ≤ 12 wk	61.3%	58.1%	3.0%
Warrant of replacement, minus drawn item	+0.09	+0.08	—
Reserve size vs. control (items)	−0.3	−0.2	ref

6 Discussion

The reserve is not a store of value awaiting a call on it. It is the residue of a rule that cannot be satisfied, and its size is the number of times the rule has been consulted.

It is also not hoarding. Reserved items are singular, catalogued, and located by the custodian on request in 94% of audits. A hoard is undifferentiated. A reserve is indexed.

This reframes several things that looked like separate domestic phenomena. The cupboard that fills up, the drawer nobody opens, the second-best set that becomes the everyday set when a better one arrives: these are one process, and Proposition 2 dates it. A household reaches saturation after nine acquisitions, which at the observed rate of 0.61 items a year is fourteen and a half years. That is roughly the interval at which households in our cohort report that the cupboards “need doing”.

It also explains why advice on the subject fails. The standard counsel is to use the good things, and the DRAW trial shows that households will follow it. They follow it and the reserve is within a third of an item of where it started, because the instruction operates on the inventory

and the rule operates on the threshold. An intervention that does not move γ moves nothing.

We see two candidate interventions that would. The first is to break the commensurability of s and q — to hold an item whose warrant is not expressible as an occasion. A household does this when it designates a thing for daily use and refuses to grade it. The second is to make acquisition set warrant to the item’s own quality rather than to the standing threshold, which is what happens when an item is bought for a purpose already scheduled. Both amount to advice not to have a reserve.

6.1 The wedding

A third of the draws we observed were weddings, and the same is true of the draws recorded under instruction in Arm B. Our account does not permit this and we can offer no version of it that does. A wedding is fixed years in advance, and nothing in a rule anchored to warrant has any way of seeing a date coming; (3) revises on encounter, not on notice. Weddings also fail to behave like the other draws afterwards: the drawn item returns to the reserve in nine of the fourteen wedding cases, against 4.0% of drawn items overall, and no replacement is acquired.

We have looked for an artefact and not found one. The fourteen wedding draws are spread across five of the six item classes, nine regions, and the full range of warrant. Either the ladder mismeasures scheduled occasions, or households operate a second rule for them that we have not identified. We prefer the second reading and cannot support it.

6.2 Limitations

The ceiling of the OL-40 ladder is a construction artefact. Saturation in Proposition 2 is saturation against the largest occasion our respondents could name, not against a metaphysical maximum, and a wider ladder would push n^* up without changing the sign of anything. We have not attempted to extend it, because the vignettes near the ceiling already elicit comment rather than comparison.

Warrant is self-reported, and §5.2 establishes that self-reported warrant is manipulable by presentation order. This is the measurement problem the paper cannot get behind: we are using an instrument whose sensitivity to context we are simultaneously reporting. The order-randomised design bounds the resulting bias at 0.076. That is smaller than the escalation the census reconstructs over a single acquisition, but not by much.

The cohort is single-country and the census sampling frame is address-based, which under-covers households in institutional accommodation. *Spent* items were excluded by definition and we suspect they are informative; a dress reserved for a wedding that has occurred is the only case in our data of a warrant being retired rather than exceeded.

Finally, all four studies observe households that agreed to have their cupboards counted. We cannot rule out that households declining enumeration hold a different kind of reserve, or none.

7 Conclusion

Custodians are not failing to apply their rule. They are applying it correctly, and it has no solution. The reserve grows because every consultation of the rule raises the bar that the next acquisition is bought to clear, and it empties only through breakage, removal, and death. The good scissors were never going to be used. They were bought for an occasion that the act of considering them disqualifies.

Ethics, registration and data

The census and surveillance protocols were approved by the Institute of Applied Statistics research ethics committee (refs. 2013/117 and 2019/044), and custodians gave written consent at each audit. DRAW was registered before enrolment (ISRCTN 41 208 663). The authors declare no

competing interests and no external funding. Anonymised item-level data and the OL-40 vignette texts are available from the corresponding author under a data-sharing agreement.

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