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Case Report The benefits and burdens of keeping others' secrets

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ABSTRACT

Prior research on secrecy has examined the effects of keeping one's own secrets, but people keep others' secrets too. The present work presents the first examination of the experience of keeping *others'* secrets. Three studies (one correlational, two experimental) with more than 600 participants holding more than 10,000 secrets demonstrate that being confided in brings relational benefits, but is also a burden. The closer one is to the confider, the more one's mind wanders toward the secret, predicting increased feelings of intimacy, but also burden. The more a secret has overlap with one's own social network, the more one conceals the secret on the other's behalf, predicting increased feelings of burden. Experimentally shifting the mentally accessible framing of the secret (to focus on closeness or overlap) influences attributions made about being confided in, as does shifting the meaning people infer for why their mind wanders toward the other's secret (i.e., mind-wandering as revisiting or as problem-solving). Being confided in can be both a burden and a boost—pathways that operate simultaneously and independently from each other.

1. Introduction

Everyone has secrets at some point in time: according to one estimate, at any given moment the average person has about 13 secrets (Slepian, Chun, & Mason, 2017). Prior work on secrecy has explored the consequences of one's own secrecy. For example, personal secrecy has been associated with lower well-being (Larson & Chastain, 1990; Larson, Chastain, Hoyt, & Ayzenberg, 2015; Maas, Wismeijer, van Assen, & Aquarius, 2011; Quinn & Chaudoir, 2009). The current work, in contrast, is the first to explore what is it like to hold another's secret.

Prior work has not systematically explored the consequences of having a secret confided in oneself, but there exists a rich literature on self-disclosure, more generally. That is, when another person discloses personal information (e.g., hobbies, where they grew up, information about common friends), we tend to like that person more, and disclose more to them in turn, which increases feelings of intimacy (Berg & Archer, 1983; Collins & Miller, 1994; Derlaga, 1988; Dindia, 2002; Jourard, 1971; Laurenceau, Barrett, & Pietromonaco, 1998; McAdams, 1988; Miller & Kenny, 1986; Peters, Jetten, Radova, & Austin, 2017). While evidence often converges on this pattern of results, the early studies in this area often did not examine real-world disclosures (e.g., watching a video of a disclosure, rather being the recipient of disclosure). Recent work confirms, however, that being the recipient of disclosure leads to interpersonal liking and closeness (Sprecher, Treger, & Wondra, 2013).

A number of related theories have been offered for the effect of disclosure on liking. For instance, reciprocal disclosure increases familiarity, and familiarity breeds liking Altman & Taylor, 1973; Berscheid & Reis, 1998; Collins & Miller, 1994). Yet, this prior work has yet to consider what happens when strings are attached to the disclosure. What happens if someone discloses a secret that is not to be discussed with others? On the one hand, this might feel like an especially intimate disclosure, promoting the positive effects generally seen in the disclosure literature. Yet, on the other hand, being the recipient of this kind of disclosure may also be a burden as now one must carry the secret too. Having a secret come to mind is associated with lower well-being. That is, aside from concealing a secret, mind-wandering to one's own secret is linked with lower well-being (Slepian et al., 2017). And thus even if only thinking about the confided secret, such thoughts could bring to mind one's responsibility of having to guard the information on the other's behalf, which may be experienced as a burden.

We thus predict that having a secret confided in oneself would be experienced as burdensome, not only as a function of the extent to which one has to conceal the secret on the other's behalf, but also as a function of having to think about the secret itself. Yet, we also predict that because a confided secret relies upon trust to guard that information from others (Corcoran, 1988), thinking about the secret should bring to mind the confidence and trust placed in oneself which should increase feelings of intimacy with the confiding other.

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1.1. Qualities of the confider and secret

Prior work has established that people disclose more to those they feel close to (Collins & Miller, 1994). Reciprocally, we predict the closer one feels to a person who has confided a secret, the more the secret will be on their mind. Just as people mind-wander to thoughts of their own secrets (Slepian et al., 2017), they may also mind-wander to thoughts of others' secrets—particularly if they feel close to the confider. That is, to the extent they have a subjective sense of being interconnected with that person (whether through feelings of relational closeness or repeated exposure; Aron, Aron, & Smollan, 1992; Berscheid, Snyder, & Omoto, 1989), then mindwandering to the other's secret may have similar negative effects on well-being as mind-wandering to one's own secret. We predicted that the closer one is to the confider, the more they will find their mind wandering toward thoughts of the confided secret, which should increase feelings of burden.

Yet, there may also be a silver lining: the closer one is to the confider, the more they might appreciate the trust implied by this confidence, thus also increasing feelings of intimacy. While self-focused repetitive thinking is associated with greater depression (Ingram, 1990), other-focused repititive thinking can increase felt intimacy with others (Watkins, 2014). For example, a suggested benefit of practicing gratitude is that it reminds one of important people in one's life, which in turn increases feelings of intimacy with those people (Algoe, 2012). We therefore predicted the closer one is to the confider, the more they will find their mind wandering toward thoughts of the confided secret, which should predict increased feelings of burden, but also intimacy.

Unlike general disclosure, being confided in comes with a responsibility. One now may have to conceal the secret on behalf of the other person. As such, qualities of the secret should impact the experience of having a secret confided in oneself. That is, greater social overlap with the secret (i.e., the more the secret refers to other people in one's own social network, or simply the more friends one has in common with the confider), the more one might find themselves in social interactions that require actively concealing the secret on the other's behalf, thereby leading the secret to feel like a burden.

1.2. Being confided in versus learning about others' secrets

We predict that these processes are specific to being entrusted with the task of guarding another's secret (i.e., being confided in). When merely hearing about another's secret, but not from the source (e.g., through gossip), the qualities of the secret and the person who has the secret may not predict increased instances of mind-wandering to the secret and concealing it on the others' behalf.

For example, when merely hearing about another's secret, it may not matter how much it relates to one's own social network, as one may feel no special obligation to conceal it on the target's behalf. Only when another's secret is being treated like one's own (i.e., one is now carrying the secret on behalf of the target person) might we expect increased mind-wandering to the secret to follow from being close to the target.

In the present studies, we examine the independent effects of *social closeness* (how close one is to the confider) vs. *social overlap* (how much the secret relates to one's own social network) on people's experience of being confided in, and in turn, how these experiences predict outcomes of being confided in, feelings of intimacy and burden. Drawing from the literature on personal secrecy (Larson et al., 2015; Quinn & Chaudoir, 2009; Slepian et al., 2017; Slepian, Camp, & Masicampo, 2015; Slepian, Masicampo, & Ambady, 2014), we predicted that *concealing and mindwandering* to another's secret would feel burdensome, whereas only mind-wandering to another's secret would evoke positive feelings of intimacy. We predict that these relationships will only operate for secrets specifically *confided*, rather than secrets heard about through

other means. These predictions yield a moderated mediation model (Fig. 1).

Study 1 measures and finds evidence for the three predicted indirect effects (two to burden, one to intimacy). Study 2 manipulates the accessibility of the proposed independent variables (social-network overlap or social closeness) to determine the causal impact of these constructs on attributions made for holding others' secrets (whether the secret is perceived as a source of burden or intimacy).

1.3. Attributions for mind-wandering

Finally, given the dual nature of mind-wandering to others' confided secrets (associated with both burden and intimacy), Study 3 investigated the process of mind-wandering. It has been previously theorized that people mind-wander to their own secrets not only to revisit them but also in order to work through them and problem-solve (Slepian et al., 2017). We predicted that burden would be experienced when people construe mind-wandering to another's confided secret as an attempt to solve the other person's problems, but that intimacy would be experienced when people construe such mind-wandering as revisiting the trust placed in them by the confider.

1.4. Participant samples and population

Sample size was determined before any data analysis, seeking 200 participants (per Slepian et al., 2017), yielding thousands of secrets per study (as participants have multiple secrets confided in them): 10,055 secrets across Studies 1–3.¹ Participants were recruited on Mechanical Turk, providing access to participants more nationally representative than college students (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011), and a level of anonymity and privacy that could not be obtained with an in-person study. Mechanical Turk participants demonstrate similar patterns of, and experience with, secrecy compared with other nationally representative samples (Slepian et al., 2017). All measures, manipulations, and exclusions in the studies are disclosed.

2. Study 1

2.1. Method

Two hundred participants were recruited ($N = 205^2$; $M_{age} = 34.37$ years, SD = 10.94; 62% female), and provided with the Common Secrets Questionnaire (Slepian et al., 2017; see Fig. 2), which presents 38 common categories of secrets. Presenting this list thus helped participants recall others' secrets. Participants indicated if they knew another's secret, per each of the 38 categories. We asked participants—for each secret *participants had confided in them*, and for each secret of which they were aware but did not learn from the target person—to indicate social closeness with the target person and social-network overlap of the secret (IVs), how frequently they concealed and mind-wandered to the secret (Mediators), and the extent to which the secret made them feel burdened, or intimate with the confider (DVs).

¹ Thus, the average sample size of secrets per study totals 3352 secrets, which can detect an effect size r = 0.05 with 80% power, and r = 0.06 with 95% power at the level of trial, i.e., secrets (Fritz, Morris, & Richler, 2012).

² Studies were continually re-posted until 200 participants were recruited, a process that allowed additional participants to take part until the study was taken down (resulting in sample sizes of 205, 237 and 207 in Studies 1, 2 and 3). Participants who admitted to fabricating answers during a final honesty check were excluded (8, 3 and 7 participants).



Fig. 1. Conditioned on having actually been confided in, we predict two indirect pathways to burden, and one to intimacy. We hypothesized social closeness would predict frequency of mind-wandering to the secret, which would in turn predict feelings of intimacy (1a), but also feelings of burden (1b). We hypothesized social network overlap would predict frequency of concealing the secret (on the confider's behalf), which would in turn predict feelings of burden (2).

2.1.1. IVs

Participants responded to two statements meant to capture social closeness to the target, both in terms of 1) feeling close, "I am close with the person who shared this", and in terms of 2) proximity (frequency of seeing the person), "I see this person often." These are distinct but related aspects of closeness that have received various labels in the literature (e.g., subjective closeness vs. interdependence; see Berscheid et al., 1989). Participants also responded to two statements capturing social-network overlap of the secret, both with respect to the content of the secret, "This secret involves other people I know" and the confider's social network, "We have many friends in common."

2.1.2. Mediators

Next, participants reported mind-wandering and concealment frequencies (adapted from Slepian et al., 2017; see Table 1).

2.1.3. DVs

Finally, participants responded to two statements meant to capture increased intimacy from being confided in, "I am glad to have learned this secret," Learning this secret makes me feel closer to the person," and increased burden from being confided in, "I wish I never learned this secret," "I feel burdened by this secret."

To ensure the recalled secret fit the proper condition, we asked for

Table 1

Mind-wandering and concealment frequency, Study 1.

Item	Descriptives
Mind-wander frequency Think about the PAST MONTH How many times in the past 30 days, did you find yourself THINKING about this person's secret? Take your best guess and ONLY enter a NUMBER	<i>M</i> = 1.90, <i>SD</i> = 4.27, 95% CI = [1.76, 2.05]
Concealment frequency Think about the PAST MONTH How many times in the past 30 days, did you have to HIDE this person's secret ON THEIR BEHALF while interacting with someone else? Take your best guess and ONLY enter a NUMBER.	<i>M</i> = 0.69, <i>SD</i> = 2.77, 95% CI = [0.60, 0.78]

Note: For unbounded measures of frequencies of concealment and mind-wandering, the adjusted boxplot method (Hubert & Vandervieren, 2008) identified outliers (as per prior work, Slepian et al., 2017). Across the two unbounded responses per secret (mind-wander and conceal), 19 outlying responses were identified (0.16% of the data, from 8 participants who indicated mind-wandering to or concealing secrets > 31 times in a month).

each secret, whether it was confided in the participant (i.e., the confider was aware that the participant knew the secret because they specifically confided it in them). Those secrets initially described as confided but then later described as being heard about through someone other than the target (3.47%), and vice versa (1.81%), were excluded from analyses.

R-packages lme4 and lmerTest ran cross-classified multilevel models through Satterthwaite approximation tests to calculate *p*-values (scaling model estimates to approximate the *F*-distribution to estimate degrees of freedom, which thus include decimals and differ by predictor; Bates, Maechler, Bolker, & Walker, 2015; Kuznetsova, Brockhoff, & Christensen, 2013). By including random intercepts for category of secret, and participant, we seek to conceptually generalize the current results to the larger population of unsampled secrets (Judd, Westfall, & Kenny, 2012).

2.2. Results

2.2.1. Predicting experiences of others' secrets (IVs to Mediators)

We predicted that our IVs (qualities of the confider/secret) would interact with whether the secret was confided in the participant (vs. merely heard about) to determine how frequently participants mindwandered to that secret, and how frequently they concealed the secret on the person's behalf.

2.2.1.1. Predicting frequency of mind-wandering to the secret. As can be seen in Table 2, social closeness interacted with being confided in (vs. merely hearing about the secret) to predict mind-wandering to the secret, yet this was not the case for social-network overlap. When being confided in, social closeness predicted increased frequency of mind-wandering to the person's secret. This was not the case when merely hearing about another's secret.

2.2.1.2. Predicting frequency of concealing the secret. As can be seen in Table 2, social-network overlap (but not social-closeness) interacted with being confided in (vs. merely hearing the secret) to marginally predict the frequency of concealing the secret. When being confided in, social-network overlap predicted increased frequency of concealing the secret on the target's behalf. This was not the case when merely hearing about another's secret.

2.2.2. Predicting outcomes of others' secrets (Mediators to DV)

We also predicted that how people experience another's secret (the frequency with which it comes to mind and how often one needs to conceal it on the other's behalf) would predict downstream psychological consequences of being confided in (increased intimacy, burden).

Table 2

Predicting experiences with others' secrets (IVs to Mediators): 2904 secrets confided in participants and 610 learned without those secrets being explicitly confided, Study 1.

Predictor	b	95% CI on b	SE	df	t	р
Predicting mind-wandering frequency						
Confided	0.48	0.07, 0.88	0.21	2997.47	2.30	.02
Concealing frequency	0.90	0.86, 0.94	0.02	2966.44	43.52	< .0001
$Close \times confided$	0.35	0.15, 0.55	0.10	2966.09	3.46	.0005
Closeness (confided)	0.40	0.32, 0.49	0.04	2972.96	9.24	< .0001
Closeness (non-confided)	0.05	-0.13, 0.24	0.09	2980.63	0.56	.57
$Overlap \times confided$	-0.12	-0.33, 0.10	0.11	2959.62	-1.05	.29
Overlap (confided)	0.08	-0.004, 0.16	0.04	2823.14	1.87	.06
Overlap (non-confided)	0.20	-0.01, 0.40	0.11	2972.61	1.86	.06
Predicting concealing frequency						
Confided	-0.01	-0.29, 0.27	0.14	2992.91	-0.08	.94
Mind-wander frequency	0.43	0.41, 0.45	0.01	2920.69	43.63	< .0001
$Close \times confided$	-0.09	-0.23, 0.05	0.07	2969.44	-1.31	.19
Closeness (confided)	-0.12	-0.17, -0.06	0.03	2862.02	-3.81	.0001
Closeness (non-confided)	-0.02	-0.15, 0.10	0.06	2973.97	-0.36	.72
$Overlap \times confided$	0.14	-0.01, 0.29	0.08	2966.79	1.89	.06
Overlap (confided)	0.14	0.08, 0.20	0.03	2346.05	4.93	< .0001
Overlap (non-confided)	-0.004	-0.15, 0.14	0.07	2985.20	-0.05	.96

Note: Indentation indicates simple effects. Predictor variables were centered and interactions between both closeness and overlap with confided were entered such that *closeness, overlap,* and *confided* effects are *simple effects*. We present the simple effect (i.e., simple slope) of closeness and overlap, assessed at both confided and non-confided secrets, and the simple effect of confided is at mean closeness and overlap. Focal relationships predicted and discussed are in bold.

2.2.2.1. Predicting burden. We found both the frequency of mindwandering to the secret and the frequency of *concealing* the secret uniquely predicted increased burden from being confided in (Table 3).

2.2.2.2. Predicting intimacy. We found that the frequency of mindwandering to the secret uniquely predicted increased intimacy from being confided in, whereas there was no such effect for the frequency of concealing the secret (Table 3).

2.2.3. Moderated indirect effects

Consistent with the above analyses, a bootstrapped (1000 iterations) multilevel mediational model demonstrated our three predicted indirect pathways were specific to secrets confided in the participant (Table 4).

2.3. Discussion

We found two pathways to increased burden, and one pathway to increased feelings of intimacy from having a secret confided in oneself. The closer people are to the target, the more they think about the target's secret, which is related to a positive outcome in the form of greater experienced intimacy, but also independently, a negative outcome in the form of greater experienced burden.

With increases in social-network overlap (the more the secret is about people within one's own social network), the more participants found themselves having to conceal the secret on the target's behalf, which in turn was associated with increased feelings of burden. These effects were specific to being confided in. These pathways were not found for other people's secrets which participants had learned about, but had not been specifically confided in them. Additionally, a

Table 3

Predicting outcomes of others' secrets (Mediators to DVs), Study 1.

Predictor	b	95% CI on b	SE	df	t	р
Predicting burden						
Mind-wander frequency	0.04	0.03, 0.06	0.01	2937.28	5.52	< .001
Concealing frequency	0.03	0.01, 0.05	0.01	2925.34	2.78	.005
Confided	0.16	-0.02, 0.34	0.09	2927.81	1.79	.07
Closeness	0.04	-0.04, 0.12	0.04	2899.32	0.98	.33
Overlap	0.14	0.05, 0.23	0.05	2894.83	3.10	.002
Intimacy	-0.34	-0.37, -0.31	0.02	2976.84	-21.28	< .001
$Closeness \times confided$	-0.04	-0.12, 0.05	0.04	2881.91	-0.90	.37
$Overlap \times confided$	-0.02	-0.11, 0.07	0.05	2879.63	-0.39	.70
Predicting intimacy						
Mind-wander frequency	0.06	0.04, 0.08	0.01	2925.14	7.12	< .001
Concealing frequency	0.001	-0.02, 0.03	0.01	2921.38	0.10	.92
Confided	0.60	0.41, 0.78	0.10	2924.59	6.19	< .001
Closeness	0.26	0.18, 0.34	0.04	2894.61	6.04	< .001
Overlap	0.10	0.003, 0.19	0.05	2891.39	2.03	.04
Burden	-0.39	-0.42, -0.35	0.02	2994.81	-21.19	< .001
$Close \times confided$	0.10	0.01, 0.19	0.05	2880.33	2.21	.03
$Overlap \times confided$	-0.07	-0.17, 0.03	0.05	2877.48	-1.34	.18

Note: Predictor variables were centered and interactions between both closeness and overlap with confided were entered such that *closeness, overlap*, and *confided* effects are *simple effects*. We present the simple effect (i.e., simple slope) of closeness and overlap, assessed at confided secrets, and the simple effect of confided is at mean closeness and overlap. Focal relationships predicted and discussed are in bold.

Table 4

Indirect effects at each level of the moderator, Study 1.

Indirect effects that are shaded are significantly different across confided and non-confided secrets.

	IV	Med	DV	IE	SE	95% CI
Confided secrets	Closeness	Conceal freq.	Burden	-0.0036	0.0001	-0.0088, -0.0001
3007013	Closeness	Mind-wander freq.	Burden	0.0171	0.0001	0.0094, 0.0254
	Overlap	Conceal freq.	Burden	0.0045	0.0001	0.0001, 0.0111
	Overlap	Mind-wander freq.	Burden	0.0039	0.0001	-0.0004, 0.0094
	Closeness	Conceal freq.	Intimacy	-0.00005	0.0001	-0.0033, 0.0033
	Closeness	Mind-wander freq.	Intimacy	0.0242	0.0002	0.0153, 0.0341
	Overlap	Conceal freq.	Intimacy	0.0001	0.0001	-0.0040, 0.0044
	Overlap	Mind-wander freq.	Intimacy	0.0054	0.0001	-0.0007, 0.0113
Non-	Closeness	Conceal freq.	Burden	-0.0008	0.0001	-0.0042, 0.0015
secrets	Closeness	Mind-wander freq.	Burden	0.0022	0.0001	-0.0034, 0.0080
	Overlap	Conceal freq.	Burden	-0.00002	0.0001	-0.0034, 0.0036
	Overlap	Mind-wander freq.	Burden	0.0087	0.0001	0.0016, 0.0173
	Closeness	Conceal freq.	Intimacy	-0.00004	0.00002	-0.0014, 0.0013
	Closeness	Mind-wander freq.	Intimacy	0.0033	0.0001	-0.0054, 0.0116
	Overlap	Conceal freq.	Intimacy	0.00001	0.00002	-0.0016, 0.0016
	Overlap	Mind-wander freq.	Intimacy	0.0121	0.0002	0.0027, 0.0225

Note. Significant indirect effects (that were moderated by confided vs. non-confided) in bold. Moderators italicized. Shading indicates that being confided in interacted with an IV to predict the Mediator. CI = confidence interval, SE = standard error, IE = mean indirect effect.

supplementary set of analyses revealed that the present patterns hold when examining specifically the face-valid items from our scales (Appendix).

3. Study 2

Study 2 sought to experimentally replicate Study 1's effects, focusing specifically on secrets confided in participants. Study 2 manipulated the accessibility of either closeness to the target, or socialnetwork overlap, and examined downstream attributions for being confided in (feelings of intimacy toward the target person, and feelings of burden from the secret).

3.1. Method

Study 2 used a procedure similar to Study 1, whereby participants (N = 237; $M_{age} = 34.49$, SD = 11.26, 64% female) were provided with 38 common categories of secrets and asked which categories of secrets had been confided in them (from Study 1; see Fig. 2).

3.1.1. Within-subjects manipulation: framing a portion of confided secrets

We randomly divided the secrets confided in participants into two blocks. For an initial first block, participants indicated how much the confided secret was a source of intimacy with the target person, and a source of burden (per Study 1). For a second block, *preceding these measures*, we introduced a manipulation. The presence of the experimental prompt was therefore manipulated within-subjects (applying only to the second block of secrets), but the nature of this prompt was manipulated between-subjects. 3.1.2. Between-subjects manipulation: different content made accessible by the framing

Between-subjects, participants were randomly assigned to a *social closeness* condition, or a *social-network overlap* condition. In their respective condition, half of their secrets were presented with a framing manipulation, described below.

When inducing any kind of prime (e.g., "think about how you are close to the target"), the risk is that participants may be aware of the potential influence of this prime and attempt to correct for that influence ("but I'm *not* that close to them!"), which can produce contrast rather than assimilation (see also Slepian, Masicampo, & Galinsky, 2016). When primes feel externally generated, they promote contrast, whereas primes that feel internally generated promote assimilation (Mussweiler & Neumann, 2000).

Thus, per each condition, participants were presented with two versions of the prime, and asked which fits best. In the social closeness condition, participants were asked, "Which option fits your situation best?" with the options being "I am close with the person who shared this secret" and "I enjoy spending time with this person." In the socialnetwork overlap condition, participants were asked, "Which option fits your situation best?" with the options being, "I have many friends in common with the person who shared this secret" and "This secret involves other people I know." By presenting two versions of the prime, both of which relate to the desired framing of the secret, this allows the participant to choose which flavor of the framing fits best, thereby leading the accessible content to feel more internally generated (as the participant chose it, minimizing potential contrast effects from priming interventions).



Fig. 2. Frequencies of having secrets confided in participants, by category of secret, Studies 1–3. Per each category of secret a full description was provided (for full CSQ descriptions, see Slepian et al., 2017). Response options were adapted to capture whether the secret was confided in the participant. 1) Someone specifically told me their secret about this. 2) I know someone who has this secret, but heard about it from someone else. 3) I know someone who once had this secret, but the secret is out now. 4) I know someone who has had something like this, but it was never secret. 5) I don't know anyone who has ever had something like this. If participants indicated option #1 fit (Studies 1-3), follow-up measures were taken. In Study 1, if option #2 fit, follow-up measures were also taken.

3.2. Results and discussion

Using the multilevel modeling strategy from Study 1, we examined whether the framing (vs. no framing, manipulated within-subjects) interacted with whether participants were in the social closeness or social-network overlap condition (manipulated between-subjects) to predict feelings of intimacy and burden.

3.2.1. Predicting feelings of burden

The presence of the priming manipulation marginally interacted with the randomly assigned condition to predict feelings of burden. Multilevel slope analyses revealed that making social-network *overlap* mentally accessible (vs. not) led participants to feel the confided secret increased burden, whereas making social *closeness* mentally accessible had no effect on feelings of burden (Table 5).

3.2.2. Predicting feelings of intimacy

The presence of the priming manipulation interacted with the randomly assigned condition to predict feelings of intimacy. Multilevel slope analyses revealed that making social *closeness* mentally accessible (vs. not) led participants to feel the confided secret increased intimacy, whereas making social-network *overlap* mentally accessible had no effect on feelings of intimacy (Table 5).

Table 5

Predicting outcomes of 3982 secrets confided in participants, Study 2.

Predictor	b	95% CI on b	SE	df	t	р
Predicting feelings of burden						
Condition w/ no prime (close = 0, overlap = 1)	0.15	-0.14, 0.43	0.15	260.20	1.00	.32
Intimacy	-0.45	-0.48, -0.42	0.01	3810.92	-31.69	< .001
Presence of prime \times condition	0.16	-0.01, 0.33	0.09	3802.08	-1.90	.06
Presence of prime (closeness condition)	0.01	-0.12, 0.14	0.06	3800.46	0.13	.90
Presence of prime (overlap condition)	0.17	0.06, 0.28	0.06	3798.98	3.04	.002
Predicting feelings of intimacy						
Condition w/ no prime (close = 0, overlap = 1)	0.19	-0.12, 0.51	0.16	249.15	1.20	.23
Burden	-0.44	-0.47, -0.41	0.01	3940.50	-31.43	< .001
Presence of prime \times condition	-0.34	-0.51, -0.17	0.08	3780.06	-4.01	< .001
Presence of prime (closeness condition)	0.31	0.19, 0.44	0.06	3776.13	4.90	< .001
Presence of prime (overlap condition)	-0.03	-0.14, 0.08	0.06	3782.25	-0.52	.61

Note: Indentation indicates simple effects. With the interactions between condition and presence of prime entered, *presence of prime* and *condition* are *simple effects*. We present the simple effect (i.e., simple slope) of the presence of the prime, assessed at both the closeness condition and overlap condition, and the simple effect of condition in the absence of priming. Focal relationships predicted and discussed are in bold. Feelings of burden M = 2.73, SD = 1.89, 95% CI = [2.67, 2.78]; feelings of intimacy M = 4.34, SD = 2.00, 95% CI = [4.28, 4.40].

Table 6

Predicting outcomes of 3169 secrets confided in participants, Study 3.

Predictor	b	95% CI on b	SE	df	t	р
Predicting feelings of burden						
Condition w/ no prime (pr-solv = 0, revisit = 1)	-0.31	-0.62, 0.01	0.16	227.27	1.93	.06
Intimacy	-0.49	-0.52, -0.45	0.02	2822.78	-29.22	< .001
Presence of prime \times condition	0.33	0.14, 0.52	0.10	3014.67	3.44	.0006
Presence of prime (revisiting condition)	0.27	0.13, 0.40	0.07	3020.16	3.88	.001
Presence of prime (prob-solving condition)	-0.07	-0.20, 0.07	0.07	3012.21	0.98	.33
Predicting feelings of intimacy						
Condition w/ no prime (pr-solv = 0, revisit = 1)	-0.03	-0.35, 0.30	0.16	224.62	0.16	.87
Burden	-0.43	-0.46, -0.40	0.01	3131.82	28.60	< .001
Presence of prime \times condition	0.50	0.32, 0.67	0.09	3000.85	5.48	< .001
Presence of prime (revisiting condition)	0.40	0.27, 0.52	0.06	3006.02	6.18	< .001
Presence of prime (prob-solving condition)	-0.10	-0.23, 0.03	0.06	2997.47	1.56	.12

Note: Indentation indicates simple effects. With the interactions between condition and presence of prime entered, *presence of prime* and *condition* are *simple effects*. We present the simple effect (i.e., simple slope) of the presence of the prime, assessed at both the revisiting condition and problem-solving condition, and the simple effect of condition in the absence of priming. Focal relationships predicted and discussed are in bold. Feelings of burden M = 2.87, SD = 1.85, 95% CI = [2.81, 2.94]; feelings of intimacy M = 4.36, SD = 1.93, 95% CI = [4.29, 4.42].

4. Study 3

Study 2 found that increasing the accessibility of social closeness with a confider increased feelings of intimacy from being confided in. Yet, increasing the accessibility of social-network overlap increased feelings of burden from being confided in. These findings provide experimental corroboration of the correlational results in Study 1. The content made situationally accessible determined the attributions made for having the secret confided in oneself. Thus, Study 2 examined how manipulating the *content* of one's thoughts influenced feelings of burden, and independently intimacy, from the confided secret.

Recall from Study 1 that mind-wandering to others' confided secrets predicted feelings of burden and intimacy. Building from this, in Study 3 we predicted that the meaning attributed to why one has these thoughts in the first place would also influence feelings of intimacy and burden from the confided secret.

We drew from the mind-wandering literature, which has identified a number of different functions for mind-wandering, including revisiting past events and working through unsolved problems (Baird, Smallwood, & Schooler, 2011; Klinger, 2013; Mason, Brown, Mar, & Smallwood, 2013). Accordingly, in Study 3 we introduced a manipulation that described mind-wandering in one of these two ways. As in Study 2, we

provided a within-subjects framing manipulation, here asking participants to consider why their mind wanders toward thoughts of the confided secret, and between-subjects, presented different framings.

4.1. Method

Participants (N = 207; $M_{age} = 33.71$, SD = 11.15, 71% female) were given the 38 categories of secrets (Fig. 2), and again as per Study 2, we asked the extent to which each of the secrets confided in them was a source of intimacy with the target person, and a source of burden.

After answering these questions for the randomly presented first half of confided secrets, participants were told that research demonstrates that the mind often returns to thoughts of secrets (whether one's own or others), and this is called mind-wandering. Participants were informed that we sought to survey their experience with mind-wandering to the confided secrets, and to be sure they understood our questions correctly, we provided a short snippet of an article about mind-wandering.

Adapted from a real popular-press article (Supplemental Material), participants read an article explaining that when attention lapses on a task at hand, the mind is prone to wander. In the *revisiting* condition, participants were told that the function of mind-wandering is to revisit and savor past positive events. In the *problem-solving* condition, participants were told that the function of mind-wandering is to work through unsolved problems, which can lead people to become fixated on a problem when those problems have no solution.

After reading the article, participants were informed we would ask about their experience with mind-wandering to others' secrets. For the randomly determined remaining portion of the confided secrets, we reinforced our manipulation using the same framing endorsement manipulation approach from Study 2, and analyzed as per Study 2.

Specifically, in the revisiting condition, participants were asked, "Which of the following is more likely?" with the options, "When my mind wanders toward thoughts of this person's secret, the reason for this... is that I am reminded of the trust they placed in me" and "When my mind wanders toward thoughts of this person's secret, the reason for this... is that I am reminded of the comfort they felt to share their secret with me."

In the problem-solving condition, participants were asked, "Which of the following is more likely?" with the options, "When my mind wanders toward thoughts of this person's secret, the reason for this... is that I am reminded of their ongoing problems" and "When my mind wanders toward thoughts of this person's secret, the reason for this... is that I am reminded of their unresolved issues."

4.2. Results

4.2.1. Predicting feelings of burden

The presence of the priming manipulation interacted with the randomly assigned condition to predict feelings of burden. Multilevel simple slope analyses revealed that the *revisiting* framing (vs. baseline) led participants to feel the confided secret increased burden, whereas the *problem-solving* framing had no effect on feelings of burden (Table 6).

4.2.2. Predicting feelings of intimacy

The presence of the framing manipulation interacted with the randomly assigned condition to predict feelings of intimacy. Multilevel simple slope analyses revealed that the *revisiting* framing (vs. baseline) led participants to feel the confided secret increased intimacy, whereas the *problem-solving* framing had no effect on feelings of intimacy (Table 6).

4.3. Discussion

These results demonstrate that the meaning one attributes for mindwandering to a confided secret influences feelings of burden and intimacy. The findings also make clear that the effects are not due to some valence-specific congruity between the prime and the response judgment. Specifically, the *revisiting* condition was explicitly linked to *benefits* of mind-wandering that allow the participant to savor past positive events. This framing led participants to perceive being confided in as a source of intimacy (a positive outcome), but independently, to perceive being confided in as a source of burden (a negative outcome). This is consistent with Study 1, where the more participants mind-wandered to secrets confided in them, the more intimacy they felt as a result of the confiding, but also the more burdened they felt. Thus, Study 3 suggests the measure of mind-wandering captured in Study 1 is indicative of participants revisiting the experience of being confided in for better and for worse.

In contrast, framing mind-wandering as *problem-solving* seemed to mitigate these effects. Our prediction was that that the mind-wandering as *problem-solving* condition would increase a sense of burden as it related to another's secret (i.e., being burdened with their problems). Yet, even when explicitly linking this function of mind-wandering to a *pit-fall*—that the mind attempting to solve a problem with no solution can lead people to become fixated on the problem—still did not increase perceived burden. Attributing one's mind-wandering as attempts to solve ongoing problems seems to ease the harmful, but also beneficial, effects of revisiting.

5. General discussion

Personal secrets are associated with feelings of burden and lower well-being (Slepian et al., 2015; Slepian et al., 2017). The present research reveals for the first time that *other people's secrets*, too, can feel like a burden. This departs from the prior literature on self-disclosure. Unlike the general disclosure of personal information, having a secret confided in oneself comes with strings attached. Given that the target intends for the information to be kept secret, by confiding it, the recipient must carry the secret too. As such, while we found that being confided in produces feelings of intimacy (as per the general pattern of disclosure; Collins & Miller, 1994; Miller & Kenny, 1986; Laurenceau et al., 1998), it is simultaneously and independently experienced as a burden; an effect not observed in the disclosure literature. Through measurement (Study 1) and manipulation (Studies 2 and 3), we found support for two distinct pathways to feelings of burden, and one unique pathway to intimacy from having a secret confided in oneself.

The closer one feels to the confider, the more one's mind wanders to that secret outside of concealment contexts, with increased feelings of burden, and independently, intimacy. Qualities of the secret matter too: the more the secret is related to people in one's social network, the more one finds oneself in social interactions requiring active concealment of the secret (on the confider's behalf), with increased feelings of burden. Accordingly, experimentally prompting feelings of social closeness (vs. baseline) increased feelings of intimacy from having a secret confided in oneself, whereas experimentally prompting feelings of social-network overlap (vs. baseline) increased feelings of burden from having a secret confided in oneself.

Manipulating the perceived reason for why one's mind wanders to the secret also influenced feelings of intimacy and burden. While experimentally framing mind-wandering as a process of problem-solving (vs. baseline) did not increase feelings of burden or intimacy, framing mind-wandering as a process of revisiting past events to savor and enjoy them (vs. baseline) increased *both* feelings of intimacy and, independently, burden. The Study 3 revisiting condition paralleled the correlational results of Study 1, suggesting that refocusing people to see their mind-wandering as attempts to solve a problem (rather than revisiting) eases the feeling of burden from thinking about a confided secret, but also dampens the positive glow people feel from revisiting having had a secret confided in oneself.

The finding of a social silver-lining of being confided in parallels an emerging movement in the emotion regulation literature, which finds that there are some benefits to suppressing emotions. While expressive suppression tends to be a maladaptive emotion regulation strategy with significant well-being costs (John & Gross, 2004), recent work finds that this strategy can have benefits for social relationships when used in the right circumstances (suppressing the expression of an inappropriate emotion; Kalokerinos, Greenaway, & Casey, 2017; Schall, Martiny, Goetz, & Hall, 2016). Where our findings diverge from this literature is that confided secrets are concealed on another's behalf, where expressive suppression involves concealing one's own emotions. This does not rule out the possibility that people engage in suppression in the process of guarding confided secrets from discovery. Indeed, this may be a mechanism through which confided secrets increase burden, but also social intimacy, as emotion suppression can increase relationship satisfaction in certain circumstances (Le & Impett, 2013). Reciprocally, we reveal that while disclosure is generally well-received, it can also create burden for the recipient when specifically confiding information that is to be kept secret.

Given the burden of one's own secrecy, it makes sense that people often seek confidants. By making clear that the secret should stay secret, one could hopefully obtain some help with secret while keeping it a secret (indeed, prior research has proposed that there are benefits to keeping one's transgressions secret from others; Kelly & Yip, 2006; Maas et al., 2011; Maas, Wismeijer, & van Assen, 2018). To the extent one receives social support from confiding, one finds healthier ways to think

about the secret, and thereby mind-wanders to it less often, predicting improved well-being (Slepian & Moulton-Tetlock, 2018). Whereas prior work has examined what it is like to have a secret (Slepian et al., 2017), and what people look for in a confidant (Slepian & Kirby, 2018), no prior work has examined what it is like to be told a secret. We examined both antecedents and outcomes of being confided in, as mediated through mind-wandering to others' secrets and concealing on their behalf. We also manipulated the attributions people draw from their mind-wandering to others' secrets, providing further insight into the ways in which having a mind that returns to thoughts of a secret can have downstream personal outcomes, here in the form of both burden, but also intimacy.

More generally, prior work has treated secrecy as something that brings harm (Critcher & Ferguson, 2014; Lane & Wegner, 1995; Larson et al., 2015; Quinn & Chaudoir, 2009; Slepian & Bastian, 2017). The present research questioned whether the same is true of secrets that are confided in us. People do find themselves on a pathway to burden when they hold others' secrets, through both spontaneously thinking about the secret and having to actively conceal it on the other's behalf. But independently and simultaneously, being confided in can give a relational boost, increasing feelings of intimacy.

Appendix A

Tables A1 and A2 present the relationships between each Study 1 item. Among the Study 1 items, some are more face-valid than others. Additional analyses with the more face-valid items replicate the main-text results.

Table A1

Relationships among social closeness (items 1 and 2) and overlap (items 3 and 4), Study 1.

Item	Factor	1	2	3	4
1. I am close with the person who shared this	Close	5.14 (1.94)	0.76	0.55	0.24
secret.					
2. I see this person often.	Close	0.57	4.49 (2.13)	0.57	0.26
3. We have many friends in common.	Overlap	0.23	0.39	4.40 (2.07)	0.39
4. This secret involves other people I know.	Overlap	-0.002^	0.06	0.35	3.55 (2.38)

Note: Items responded to from 1-not at all to 7-very much. All effects are significant (p < .05) except for where noted with ^. Along the diagonal are the *M*s and *SD*s of each item. Above the diagonal are zero-order relationships between each item from multilevel models (which account for secrets being nested within participants, unlike a correlation coefficient). Below the diagonal are coefficients of the relationship between each item, but now controlling for the other items. As can be seen, items 1 and 2 load most highly on to each other in both cases (bolded values). While item 3 appears to load on to items 1 and 2 in the zero-order relationships (0.55 and 0.57), these relationships are reduced when accounting for shared variance with other items (0.23 and 0.39), such that as predicted the items that on average load most highly together are 1 and 2 (closeness) and 3 and 4 (overlap). That is, while item 2 does share similarity with item 3, it does not share as much similarity as 2 has with 1, and 4 only loads highly on 3. We thus combine as predicted, but we also report in this Appendix a set of analyses with the most face valid items (1 and 4).

Table A2

Relationships among intimacy (items 1 and 2) and burden (items 3 and 4), Study 1.

Item	Factor	1	2	3	4
1. I am glad to have learned this secret.	Intimacy	5.14 (1.94)	0.72	-0.38	-0.09
2. Learning this secret makes me feel closer to the	Intimacy	0.69	4.49 (2.13)	-0.32	-0.06
person.					
3. I wish I never learned this secret.	Burden	-0.25	-0.13	4.40 (2.07)	0.41
4. I feel burdened by this secret.	Burden	0.03^	0.07	0.45	3.55 (2.38)

Note: Items responded to from 1-not at all to 7-very much. All relationships are significant (p < .05) except where noted with $\hat{}$. Along the diagonal are the *M*s. and *SD*s of each item. Above the diagonal are zero-order relationships between each item from multilevel models (which account for secrets being nested within participants, unlike a correlation coefficient). Below the diagonal are coefficients of the relationship between each item, but controlling for the other items. As can be seen, items 1 and 2 load most highly on to each other in both cases (bolded values), and likewise the same for items 3 and 4. We thus combine as predicted, but also report in this Appendix a set of analyses with the most face-valid items (2 and 4).

Study 1 - face valid analyses (Tables A3-A5)

Each of the Study 1 analyses replicate when examining specifically the face valid items only.

Face valid items

Closeness - I am close with the person who shared this secret. Overlap - This secret involves other people I know. Intimacy - Learning this secret makes me feel closer to the person.

Burden - I feel burdened by this secret.

Table A3

Predicting experiences with others' secrets (IVs to Mediators), simple slopes analysis. Face valid items only (Study 1).

Predictor	b	95% CI on b	SE	df	t	р
Predicting mind-wandering frequency	/					
Confided	0.60	0.19, 1.01	0.21	2990.87	2.87	.004
Concealing frequency	0.91	0.87, 0.95	0.02	2962.32	43.60	< .0001
Close \times confided	0.31	0.15, 0.47	0.08	2962.32	3.74	.0002
Closeness (confided)	0.34	0.27, 0.42	0.04	2977.57	8.81	< .0001
Closeness (non-confided)	0.03	-0.11, 0.18	0.07	2980.98	0.46	.65
$Overlap \times confided$	-0.05	-0.20, 0.09	0.07	2958.53	-0.70	.49
Overlap (confided)	0.07	0.02, 0.13	0.03	2682.01	2.61	.009
Overlap (non-confided)	0.13	-0.01, 0.26	0.07	2975.42	1.77	.08
Predicting concealing frequency						
Confided	-0.056	-0.33, 0.24	0.14	2981.26	-0.32	.75
Mind-wander frequency	0.43	0.41, 0.44	0.01	2916.51	43.66	< .0001
Close \times confided	-0.05	-0.16, 0.06	0.06	2969.19	-0.87	.38
Closeness (confided)	-0.05	-0.10, 0.0003	0.03	2946.59	-1.95	.05
Closeness (non-confided)	-0.003	-0.10, 0.10	0.05	2976.38	-0.05	.96
$Overlap \times confided$	0.10	-0.001, 0.20	0.05	2957.06	1.94	.05
Overlap (confided)	0.09	0.06, 0.13	0.02	1818.65	5.04	< .0001
Overlap (non-confided)	-0.005	-0.10, 0.09	0.05	2981.26	-0.10	.92

Note: Indentation indicates simple effects. Predictor variables were centered and interactions between both closeness and overlap with confided were entered such that *closeness, overlap,* and *confided* effects are *simple effects*. We present the simple effect (i.e., simple slope) of closeness and overlap, assessed at both confided and non-confided secrets, and the simple effect of confided is at mean closeness and overlap. Focal relationships predicted and discussed are in bold.

Table A4

Predicting outcomes of others' secrets (mediators to DVs). Face valid items only (Study 1).

Predictor	b	95% CI on b	SE	df	t	р
Predicting burden						
Mind-wander frequency	0.03	0.01, 0.05	0.01	2918.06	2.72	.007
Concealing frequency	0.04	0.03, 0.06	0.01	2927.73	5.66	< .001
Confided	0.18	0.005, 0.36	0.09	2918.78	2.01	.04
Closeness	0.05	-0.01, 0.12	0.03	2893.77	1.63	.10
Overlap	0.13	0.07, 0.18	0.03	2897.00	4.15	< .001
Intimacy	-0.34	-0.37, -0.31	0.02	2965.79	-21.31	< .001
$Closeness \times confided$	-0.01	-0.08, 0.05	0.04	2876.43	-0.41	.68
$Overlap \times confided$	-0.04	-0.10, 0.02	0.03	2877.97	-1.35	.17
Predicting intimacy						
Mind-wander frequency	0.07	0.05, 0.08	0.01	2914.07	8.01	< .001
Concealing frequency	-0.003	-0.03, 0.02	0.01	2913.80	-0.28	.78
Confided	0.59	0.41, 0.78	0.10	2914.46	6.20	< .001
Closeness	0.25	0.18, 0.32	0.03	2892.16	7.30	< .001
Overlap	0.08	0.01, 0.14	0.03	2891.55	2.33	.02
Burden	-0.39	-0.42, -0.35	0.02	2988.27	-21.20	< .001
$Close \times confided$	0.13	0.06, 0.20	0.04	2873.81	3.45	.0006
$Overlap \times confided$	-0.05	-0.11, 0.02	0.03	2874.35	-1.34	.18

Note: Predictor variables were centered and interactions between both closeness and overlap with confided were entered such that *closeness, overlap,* and *confided* effects are *simple effects*. We present the simple effect (i.e., simple slope) of closeness and overlap, assessed at confided secrets, and the simple effect of confided is at mean closeness and overlap. Focal relationships predicted and discussed are in bold.

Table A5

Indirect effects at each level of the moderator. Indirect effects that are *not* shaded are *not* significantly different across confided and non-confided secrets. Face valid items only (Study 1).

Confided Secrets	IV	Mediator	DV	IE	SE	95% CI
	closeness	conceal freq.	burden	0024	.0001	0065, .0001
	closeness	mind-wander freq.	burden	.0199	.0001	.0121, .0288
	overlap	conceal freq.	burden	.0046	.0001	.0009, .0102
	overlap	mind-wander freq.	burden	.0048	.0001	.0010, .0099
	closeness	conceal freq.	intimacy	.0003	.00003	0014, .0026
	closeness	mind-wander freq.	intimacy	.0195	.0001	.0109, .0290
	overlap	conceal freq.	intimacy	0005	.00004	0039, .0025
	overlap	mind-wander freq.	intimacy	.0046	.0001	.0011, .0091
Non-confided secrets	IV	Mediator	DV	IE	SE	95% CI
	closeness	conceal freq.	burden	00004	.00001	0036, .0033
	closeness	mind-wander freq.	burden	.0020	.0001	0044, .0083
	overlap	conceal freq.	burden	0003	.0001	0039, .0031
	overlap	mind-wander freq.	burden	.0076	.0001	.0020, .0153
	closeness	conceal freq.	intimacy	00003	.00002	0013, .0013
	closeness	mind-wander freq.	intimacy	.0020	.0001	0038, .0084
	overlap	conceal freq.	intimacy	.0001	.00002	-0.0012, .0013
	overlap	mind-wander freq.	intimacy	.0073	.0001	.0020, .0144

Note. CI = confidence interval, SE = standard error. IE = mean indirect effect. Significant indirect effects (that were moderated by confided vs. non-confided) in bold. Moderators italicized. Shading indicates that being confided in interacted with an IV to predict the Mediator.

Study 2 - face valid analyses

Each of the Study 2 analyses replicate when examining specifically the face valid items only.

Table A6

Predicting outcomes of others' secrets, simple slopes analysis.

Face-valid items only (Study 2).

Predictor	b	95% CI on b	SE	df	t	р
Predicting feelings of burden						
Condition w/ no prime (close = 0, overlap = 1)	0.15	-0.17, 0.47	0.16	261.85	0.91	.36
Intimacy	-0.26	-0.29, -0.23	0.02	3911.89	-16.93	< .001
Presence of prime \times condition	0.28	0.08, 0.48	0.10	3799.72	2.73	.006
Presence of prime (closeness condition)	-0.03	-0.18, 0.12	0.08	3799.43	-0.41	.68
Presence of prime (overlap condition)	0.25	0.11, 0.38	0.07	3797.88	3.67	.0001
Predicting feelings of intimacy						
Condition w/ no prime (close = 0, overlap = 1)	0.15	-0.21, 0.52	0.19	250.03	0.82	.41
Burden	-0.25	-0.28, -0.23	0.02	3941.49	-16.93	< .001
Presence of prime \times condition	-0.43	-0.62, -0.24	0.10	3776.92	-4.53	< .001
Presence of prime (closeness condition)	0.36	0.22, 0.51	0.07	3773.39	4.87	< .001
Presence of prime (overlap condition)	-0.07	-0.20, 0.06	0.07	3780.00	-1.07	.29

Note: Indentation indicates simple effects. With the interactions between condition and presence of prime entered, *presence of prime* and *condition* are *simple effects*. We present the simple effect (i.e., simple slope) of the presence of the prime, assessed at both the closeness condition and overlap condition, and the simple effect of condition in the absence of priming. Focal relationships predicted and discussed are in bold. Feelings of burden M = 2.63, SD = 2.01, 95% CI = [2.57, 2.69]; feelings of intimacy M = 4.42, SD = 2.15, 95% CI = [4.36, 4.49].

Study 3 - face valid analyses

Each of the Study 3 analyses replicate when examining specifically the face valid items only.

Table A7

Predicting outcomes of others' secrets, simple slopes analysis. Face-valid items only (Study 3).

Predictor	b	95% CI on b	SE	df	t	р
Predicting feelings of burden						
Condition w/ no prime (pr-solv = 0, revisit = 1)	-0.26	-0.62, 0.09	0.18	231.76	1.44	.14
Intimacy	-0.32	-0.35, -0.28	0.02	3037.47	-17.63	< .001
Presence of prime \times condition	0.23	0.01, 0.45	0.11	3009.74	2.09	.04
Presence of prime (revisiting condition)	0.28	0.13, 0.43	0.08	3015.26	3.55	.0004
Presence of prime (prob-solving condition)	0.05	-0.11, 0.20	0.08	3005.54	0.60	.55
Predicting feelings of intimacy						
Condition w/ no prime (pr-solv = 0, revisit = 1)	0.04	-0.30, 0.38	0.18	230.72	0.24	.81
Burden	-0.28	-0.31, -0.25	0.02	3146.57	17.26	< .001
Presence of prime \times condition	0.59	0.38, 0.79	0.10	3002.49	5.65	< .001
Presence of prime (revisiting condition)	0.52	0.38, 0.67	0.07	3008.30	7.10	< .001
Presence of prime (prob-solving condition)	-0.06	-0.21, 0 0.08	0.07	2998.91	0.88	.38

Note: Indentation indicates simple effects. With the interactions between condition and presence of prime entered, *presence of prime* and *condition* are *simple effects*. We present the simple effect (i.e., simple slope) of the presence of the prime, assessed at both the revisiting condition and problem-solving condition, and the simple effect of condition in the absence of priming. Focal relationships predicted and discussed are in bold. Feelings of burden M = 2.76, SD = 2.00, 95% CI = [2.69, 2.83]; feelings of intimacy M = 4.51, SD = 2.00, 95% CI = [4.44, 4.58].

Appendix B. Articles presented in Study 3

Supplementary material to this article can be found online at https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2018.02.005.

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