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Using Shrinkage in Multilevel Models to Understand Intersectionality
A Simulation Study and a Guide for Best Practice

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Abstract: Multilevel models have recently been used to empirically investigate the idea that social characteristics are intersectional such as age, sex, ethnicity, and socioeconomic position interact with each other to drive outcomes. Some argue this approach solves the multiple-testing problem found in standard dummy-variable (fixed-effects) regression, because intersectional effects are automatically shrunk toward their mean. The hope is intersections appearing statistically significant by chance in a fixed-effects regression will not appear so in a multilevel model. However, this requires assumptions that are likely to be broken. We use simulations to show the effect of breaking these assumptions: when there are true main effects/interactions, unmodeled in the fixed part of the model. We show, while the multilevel approach outperforms the fixed-effects approach, shrinkage is less than is desired, and some intersectional effects are likely to appear erroneously statistically significant by chance. We conclude with advice to make this promising method work robustly.

Keywords: multilevel models, intersectionality, dummy variable regression, Empirical Bayes residuals, shrinkage

There has been a recent rise in the use of multilevel models to uncover complex interactions between social characteristics (Evans, Williams, Onnela, & Subramanian, 2018; Fisk et al., 2018; Green et al., 2017; Johnston, Jones, & Manley, 2018; Jones, Johnston, & Manley, 2016; Merlo, 2018). This is driven by interest in intersectionality theory, focusing on the intersecting deprivations that result from different combinations of social characteristics such age, sex, ethnicity, and socioeconomic position on the one hand, and how these deprivations are the result of interlocking systems of discrimination, marginalization, oppression, and exclusion on the other (Crenshaw, 1991; Hill Collins, 2008). Sometimes the combination of social characteristics can have multiplicative effects that are more than the sum of their parts. For example, being either black or having a low income can be disadvantageous, but being both black and having a low income can be extra disadvantageous. Different combinations of attributes represent different socio-structural positions, entailing differential access to resources, and different social identities, since the social groups we belong to give us a sense of who we are (McCall, 2005). Intersectionality research has also been concerned with multiple marginalized intersectional positions/identities (Choo & Ferree, 2010) in relation to sexuality, disability, and nationality, for example (Yuval-Davis, 2006).

Despite the different strands of intersectionality research, recent multilevel analyses have so far focused on the “main” characteristics described, and on intersectional subgroups rather than wider systems of oppression. The multilevel approach is argued to be a “new gold-standard” for analyzing differences in health across societal groups (Merlo, 2018). It empirically investigates intersectionality by explicitly taking into account subgroups defined by different combinations of social characteristics, while not assuming a priori that any particular variable or subgroup is a more important driver of intersectional effects than others.

One key claim is that multilevel or “random effects” models obviate the multiple testing problem, whereby if many parameters (in this case, the effects of intersections) are tested, they appear statistically significant just by chance – a particular danger for intersections with small samples. This means the multilevel approach is preferable to a more standard “fixed effects” model, which includes a dummy variable for each intersection, estimated by...
Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression.¹ In the multilevel model, the level-2 residuals (the estimates of the intersectional effects – also referred to as random effects) are shrunk to the mean based on the uncertainty in their estimate. Where there is no true effect, this shrinkage will mean that effects will not appear significant just by chance (see simulations below, also Jones et al., 2016). In contrast, we would expect 5% of intersections to appear significant at the 95% level just by chance if intersections were included as fixed effects with separate parameters for each intersection.

However, multilevel models assume that the level-2 residuals that assess these differentials are independent and identically distributed (IID) – that is, they are unrelated to one another. If this assumption is incorrect, estimates of intersectional effects may be shrunk too much or more likely too little. This assumption will often not be met in the above application of the model, because intersections are made up of variables that vary with some, but not all intersections. For example, if there is a single effect of gender, and no other effects, the “male” intersections will be more similar to each other than to the “female” intersections. Because these gender differences will not be accounted for in the model’s residuals (unless gender is controlled for in the model), the sample of intersections will not be IID. This would have the effect of not only making those intersections appear different (indeed, we would want them to do this), but also affect the estimates of other residuals because shrinkage would be incorrectly applied.

This paper uses Monte-Carlo simulations to assess the effect that such violations of these assumptions have on the statistical significance of residuals – both those that should be statistically significant, and those that should not. We show that, in situations such as these, whilst there is some beneficial shrinkage, meaning the model outperforms the fixed-effects approach, it is less than desired, with some intersection residuals (departures from an overall mean) still appearing to be significant when they should not. We give an explanation for why shrinkage behaves in this way. Finally, we make recommendations for how this model can be used, so that its potential can be fully realized. We deal exclusively with the case when the response variable to be explained is assumed to be Normally distributed, although similar issues are likely to arise with other dependent variables, and indeed any multilevel model where the level-2 residuals are explicitly analyzed.

¹ A more detailed and general comparison between the two formulations of random and fixed effects is given in (Bell & Jones, 2015; Bell et al., 2019).

² An alternative approach could be undertaken at the design stage: to stratify on the combination of attributes in sample to obtain sufficient numbers in each intersection. But this requires a lot of resources and time at the design and data collection stage, which is often unavailable to researchers.
The recent analysis by Evans et al. (2018) of Body Mass Index (BMI) in the USA for intersections based on gender, race/ethnicity, income, education, and age, is an example of this and has been heralded by Merlo (2018) as “the new gold standard for investigating health disparities in (social) epidemiology.”

However, the implications of results relating to (i) or (ii) for policy and intervention are still to be fully worked-out. With respect to (i), the multilevel approach specified below provides a measure of intersectionality in general, which can “provide evidence for the need to address the social determinants of such inequalities” (Merlo, 2018, p. 77). However, results regarding whether intersectionality matter overall provide no evidence on how to address social determinants or inequalities. One way in which such overall measures might be useful is in comparative studies, for example, comparing the extent to which there are intersectional effects for different health outcomes across different times or locations, similar to how concentration indices can be used to quantify the extent of inequalities in health.

With respect to (ii), that is, concentrating on particular intersections, the waters are muddier still. Merlo (2018) suggests that it is not warranted to focus interventions on specific intersections when the ICC (see later for definition/calculation) is low firstly because it might stigmatize those in “bad” intersections, and secondly because in this case the intersections do a poor job of discriminating for individual health – many people with good health will be in unhealthier intersections and vice versa. We argue that other factors beside the ICC should be considered deciding whether and how to focus, for example, interventions or policies on particular intersections. Some are a lot larger than others; to maximize population benefit efficiently it might make sense to concentrate resources not only on intersections that have the worst health, but those that have reasonable numbers in the general population, particularly where repeated studies show consistent effects in multiple health outcomes.

In sum, understanding both specific and general intersectional effects is important, and the multilevel model outlined by Evans et al. (2018) and others is a valuable way to do so. The next section details that model.

The Multilevel Model

This is a two-level multilevel model, with individuals at level 1 and intersections at level 2:

\[ y_{ij} = \beta_0 + u_i + e_{ij}, \]  

(1)

here, \( y_{ij} \) is an outcome variable (continuous here), measured for individual \( i \) in intersection \( j \). Those intersections are defined by looking at a number of characteristics of individuals simultaneously (e.g., gender, social class, age, ethnicity, etc.) and producing an identifier for each combination of those variables, such that each intersection will contain individuals with the same characteristics. \( \beta_0 \) is the overall mean of the outcome in question across all groups, and \( u_i \) are the estimated level-2 residuals (departures from the mean), for each intersection \( j \); these are assumed to be Normally distributed, as are the individual-level residual terms \( e_{ij} \) (the departures from intersectional effects for specific individuals).

\[ u_i \sim N(0, \sigma^2_u), \quad e_{ij} \sim N(0, \sigma^2_e). \]  

(2)

The model can be used in two ways, that we can think of as “global” and “specific” intersectionality. First, the level-2 variance \( \sigma^2_u \) (and its associated variance partitioning coefficient, VPC, also called Intra Class Correlation, ICC) can be seen as a measure of the combined importance of the making up the intersections, including main effects (e.g., straight effects of age) and intersections. Similarly, we can use the VPC to assess how this variance compares to within-group (level-1) variance – specifically the proportion of the total (individual level plus intersection level) variance that exists at the intersection level. Given the scale of individual heterogeneity, Merlo (2018, p. 77) suggests that even when this is relatively modest, for example, 5% as in the Evans et al. study, it indicates that “important social forces are generating a shift of the individual distribution of risk”.

The model can be extended to include main effects:

\[ y_{ij} = \beta_0 + \sum_{k=1}^{K} \sum_{l=1}^{L-1} \beta_{kl}X_{kl} + u_i + e_{ij}, \]  

(3)

where \( X_{kl} \) are the main effects of the variables \( K \) that make up the intersections: dummy variables associated with category \( l \) of categorical variable \( k \) (there are \( L - 1 \) dummies included, i.e., the total number of categories less a reference category). \( u_i \) and \( e_{ij} \) have the same distributional assumptions (Equation 2 as before). The inclusion of these main effects has the effect of accounting for much of, and thus reducing, the level-2 variance \( \sigma^2_e \). In other words this, and the associated VPC, now refer to the (residual) multiplicative component of intersectional effects, since the additive effects of the variables will be absorbed by the dummy variables. Evans et al. (2018) compare the level-2 variance produced by the models in Equations 1 and 3 above to give an indication of the level of multiplicative intersectionality: if level-2 variance remains when the main effects are included, that implies some degree of multiplicative intersectionality, that is, there are joint effects of these variables that are greater than the discrete variable effects. This is sometimes referred to as the
“Percentage Change in Variance” or PCV, although it should not be confused with the VPC.

The second way these models are used is to considering “specific” intersectionality measured by the level-2 residuals $u_j$ themselves. We can estimate the residuals for each intersection unit, and see which intersections are associated with higher and lower levels of the response variable. These residuals are automatically shrunken in most multilevel modeling software to account for the reliability of the residuals, by applying Equation 4

$$u_j = r_j \times \frac{\sigma^2_u}{\sigma^2_u + (\sigma^2_j/n_j)},$$

where $r_j$ is the raw, unshrunken residual, $n_j$ is the number of observations in intersection $j$, and all other terms are as in Equations 1 and 2. This means that residuals are shrunken or precision weighted to a greater or lesser degree based on three factors. First, if the level-2 between-intersection variance is low, shrinkage will be more substantial for all intersections. Second, if the level-1 within-intersection variance is high, the shrinkage will be greater for all intersections. Finally, if an intersection has a lower number of observations, the shrinkage will be larger. Because of the role of the former (the level-2 variance) in this, in a situation where there are no level-2 effects, this shrinkage will be substantial.

This is advantageous because, when testing many different items, with no theory to guide which intersections might be significant, we need to be careful of multiple testing. To appreciate the importance of this formulation, we contrast this model to an alternative specification, a standard regression model, with each intersection included as a fixed-effect dummy variable $D_j$:

$$y_{ij} = \sum_{j=1}^{J} \beta_j D_j + e_{ij}.$$  

In this case, we would expect 5% of the $\beta_j$ estimates to appear statistically significant (at the 5% level) just by chance, when there are in reality no effects of those intersections in the process that generated the data. In contrast, by shrinking the residuals in the multilevel model, the intersection estimates will be shrunk to such an extent that, if there are no true intersectional effects (i.e., the variance at the intersection level is very low), none will appear significant (see simulations below). It thus helps to solve the problem of multiple testing when the level-2 between-intersection variance is low. As noted by Jones et al:

“Another important advantage of this random-effects shrinkage approach is in relation to multiple comparisons, which is at the heart of the induction problem of standard exploratory procedures. If you do enough testing, the chances of finding significant results increase rapidly. However, as demonstrated by Gelman et al. (2012), it is much more efficient to shift estimates towards each other rather than try to inflate the usual confidence intervals through a Bonferroni correction to control the overall error rate. Thus, shrinkage automatically makes for more appropriately conservative comparisons while not reducing the power to detect true differences.” (Jones et al., 2016, p. 4).

However, this shrinkage will only occur markedly if $\sigma^2_u$ is small, as per Equation 4. If we use the model in Equation 1, but there are main effects in the true data generating process (DGP), then the variance $\sigma^2_u$ will be greater, and shrinkage will be less. This could allow aberrant effects of single intersections to appear significant, when actually their effects have occurred by chance. This could be solved by the inclusion of the main effects, as in Equation 2, which would “soak up” those main effects, leaving no effects in the level-2 variance. This is why many suggest only considering residual estimates for specific strata when the main effects are controlled for (Evans et al., 2018), although this advice is not always heeded (Hernández-Yumar et al., 2018; Jones et al., 2016). However, if there were, say, a two-way interaction in the DGP (between two of the intersecting variables for instance) then these would not be “soaked up” by the main effects in the model, and the interacting intersections would be included in the level-2 variance. As a result, this variance would be greater, the shrinkage less, and the correction for multiple testing attenuated on all residuals.

We demonstrate this through the Monte-Carlo simulations below. This involves creating synthetic data with a particular DGP, and testing a model’s ability to uncover the attributes of that DGP. This is done many times (in this case, 100 per scenario) to ensure the results we find are not chance aberrations.

Simulations

We simulated data to show to what extent the multilevel models described above are vulnerable to multiple testing - that is, we tackle the question: do the models...
produce statistically significant results for intersections when the truth is that there are no multiplicative effects? We generated data either with no effects (Scenarios 1 and 2), or only straight main effects (Scenarios 3, 4, and 5), or main effects and a (two-way) interaction (Scenario 6). These effects were in the order of magnitude of those found by Evans et al. (2018) – larger effects with a magnitude of 1, and smaller effects with a magnitude of 0.5 – to test if the size of the effects affected the performance of the model. We tested these data using the “null” multilevel model with no fixed-part effects (Scenarios 1, 3, and 4, Equation 1), the multilevel model with main effects (but no interactions) in the fixed part (Scenarios 5 and 6, Equation 3), and with dummy-variable regression (Scenario 2, Equation 5). Table 1 gives details of these.

By choosing these scenarios, we are able to test how the multilevel model works in the presence of different magnitudes of main effects (of the size we might expect given results in other papers), and in the presence of interaction effects, and how this compares to the fixed-effects, dummy-variable approach.

Intersections were generated using simulated versions of the sort of variables that might make up an intersectional analysis – income (6 categories), sex (2), ethnicity (6), and age (4), which combined produce 288 unique intersections – roughly consistent with the number of intersections used by others. These were arbitrarily chosen – the results we find would apply however the intersections are created, so long as there was more than one observation in each intersection. Individuals were assigned randomly to each intersection (meaning that, although not all the same size, there are no systematic differences between the sizes of the intersections). We do not foresee this having an effect (if an intersection is small we would expect it to experience greater shrinkage in line with Equation 4, but there are no systematic differences between specific intersections5). One hundred iterations of each scenario were generated with sample sizes of 1,000, 10,000, and 100,000 (note that, with a sample size of 1,000, there were some “empty” intersections with no individuals assigned, by chance).

The multilevel models were run in MLwiN 2.36 (Charlton, Rasbash, Browne, Healy, & Cameron, 2013) using the runmlwin command in Stata (Leckie & Charlton, 2013). Monte Carlo Markov Chain (MCMC) estimation was used (Browne, 2009), with a 10,000 iteration burn-in, a 100,000 iteration chain, and true starting values based on the data generating process, the best possible start to the estimation process. We used MCMC and runmlwin, rather than more standard frequentist multilevel commands, because of problems with convergence for some iterations of the simulations when using the mixed command in Stata and Iterative Generalized Least Squares estimation in MLwiN. Dummy-variable regression was conducted in Stata using the regress command. Algebraic details of the DGP and models can be seen in Table 1.

For each scenario, we are interested in the number of intersections that have a statistically significant difference from the average, taking into account any main effects or

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5 We have not simulated systematically different sizes of intersections (nj) in order to see the effect on shrinkage of the main effects/interactions, without systematic differences in nj interfering with that.
interactions that should appear significant. In Scenarios 1, 2, and 5, this is simply the intersections that are deemed statistically different from the average across the intersections. In Scenarios 3 and 4, we subtract the estimates from the income-group average (e.g., the average residual estimate for strata in income category 1, the average in income category 2, etc.) and test the significance of that de-meaned residual, in order to find the value of the residual net of any main effects in the DGP. In Scenario 6, we subtract the income-age-group average (e.g., the average residual estimate for strata in income category 1 and age category 1, etc.). We then use these to see the proportion of significant results, averaged across the 100 simulations. It should be noted that Evans et al. (2018) do not suggest using these models in Scenarios 3 and 4 to test specific interactions; however we test these models because (a) others have suggested using such models in this way (Hernández-Yumar et al., 2018; Jones et al., 2016), and (b) the problems with those models are indicative of the problems encountered with the main-effects model as well in Scenario 6.

Residuals are also visualized with “caterpillar” plots from a single example simulation run (Rasbash, Steele, Browne, & Goldstein, 2009, chapter 3). We focus on statistical significance because (a) it gives a clear way of quantifying the “wrongness” of the model (that is more difficult to do with size of the estimated residuals) and (b) it is the best way of testing how well the method compensates for multiple comparisons, where the interest is in statistical significance or lack thereof. The size of residuals is, of course also important (perhaps more so) when interpreting the meaning of the effects, and this is visualized in the caterpillar plots that we produce.

Results

The results are summarized in Table 2 and Figure 1.

First it can be seen that, when there are no effects (either main effects or interactions) of the intersecting variables, multilevel models work well – no intersections appear significant (Scenario 1). This is an improvement on using dummy-variable regression (Scenario 2), where, as expected, around 5% of intersections are found to be statistically significant despite no such effects existing in the DGP.

When there are main effects (Scenarios 3 and 4), we see that this “null” model performs less well, with between 0.1% and 4% of intersections appearing statistically significant when there are, in fact, no such effects in the DGP. It is clear from this (and particularly clear in Figure 1) that there is less shrinkage in these scenarios than in Scenario 1, and this can be explained by the higher level-2 variance that is really the result of the main effects in the DGP. But that shrinkage is not only reduced in the intersections affected by the main effect – it occurs in all intersections equally, meaning that there is more chance of finding significant effects when those effects are absent. There are some differences as a result of both sample size and effect size, but these do not seem to follow a clear pattern (other than that there is more shrinkage when the sample size is very small, which is to be expected given Equation 4). Note that the residuals successfully pick up the differences between groups that they are supposed to (see Figure 1, Scenario 3, where there are two clear groups of estimates appearing different from the rest) but they also pick up other aberrant effects. It should be noted, though, that the fixed-effects/dummy-variable approach will produce more unwanted effects, so this approach is still preferable to that.

In Scenario 5, main effects were included in the model. In this case, because these soak up all the main effects in the DGP, the remaining level-2 residuals will be as in Scenario 1. The result is a large degree of shrinkage, and so no intersections appear statistically significant. However, this is not an all-purpose solution, since it only works if there are no additional interactions of the intersecting variables in the DGP. If there are such interactions (as in Scenario 6), these have a similar (though smaller) effect as the main effects in Scenarios 3 and 4: increasing the between-intersection variance, reducing the shrinkage, and increasing the chance of finding intersection effects where none exist. The effect is smaller than with main effects because fewer intersections are affected by the interaction, meaning the resulting level-2 variance is smaller. And, again, the model still outperforms the fixed-effects approach, where we would expect 5% of the intersections to appear significant just by chance.

Discussion

These simulations help us to understand when this model is valuable, and what its limits are. As stated above, there are two ways these models can be used: (1) to see whether multiplicative intersectionality matters generally, via the level-2 variance and associated VPC, and (2) to look at the level-2 residuals themselves. We argue here that the former is not problematic – the variance is in effect calculated prior to shrinkage anyway with most standard multilevel modeling estimation procedures, so is unaffected by any shrinkage that may or may not occur. From a policy perspective, the latter is often more interesting, but is found here to be more problematic – while it is an improvement on standard fixed effects dummy-variable regression, the amount of shrinkage is not always correct unless all true variable effects, including interactions, are included in the fixed part of the model. The inclusion of main effects improves the situation, but does not solve it: if there are interactions between
variables, these will produce variance that changes the amount of shrinkage experienced by the intersection residuals.

One option could be an iterative approach, starting with a null model, then including first main effects (potentially one-by-one as suggested by Merlo, 2018), then two-way (first-order) interactions, then three-way (second-order) interactions, and so on until all the level-2 variance is accounted for. Once these effects are in the fixed part of the model, there is less likelihood that the remaining intersections are the result of random chance. So long as at each stage all possible effects are included, this will not treat any particular variables as having primacy over the others (although, of course, it might find that a particular variable

| Scenario | Sample 1k (mean 3.6 obs/intersection) | Sample 10k (mean 34.7/intersection) | Sample 100k (mean 347/intersection) |
|----------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
|          | Mean | Range | Mean | Range | Mean | Range |
| 1        | 0    | (0,0) | 0    | (0,0) | 0    | (0,0) |
| 2        | 0.052 | (0.022,0.117) | 0.049 | (0.021,0.087) | 0.050 | (0.024,0.799) |
| 3        | 0.012 | (0.000,0.052) | 0.036 | (0.014,0.068) | 0.021 | (0.0055,0.40) |
| 4        | 0.001 | (0.000,0.010) | 0.022 | (0.004,0.048) | 0.038 | (0.011,0.068) |
| 5        | 0    | (0,0) | 0    | (0,0) | 0    | (0,0) |
| 6        | 0.00005 | (0,0.005) | 0.004 | (0,0.0183) | 0.018 | (0.003,0.036) |

Notes. Scenario 1 has no effects in the DGP, and no main effects (only intersection random effects) specified in the model. Scenario 2 has no effects in the DGP, and the model is specified with fixed effect dummy variables for intersections. Scenarios 3 and 4 have no effects specified in the model, but large (Sc2) and small (Sc3) effects in the DGP. Scenario 5 has a large additive effect in the DGP, and additive effects (and random effects) specified in the model. Finally, Scenario 6 has large additive effects and an interaction effect in the DGP, with only additive effects (and the random effects) specified in the model. For Scenarios 3, 4, and 6, the fixed effects in the DGP that are not in the fixed part of the estimated model are subtracted from the residuals, so these do not include the differences we would expect given the real differences in the DGP.
or interaction is of particular importance in its effects. It should be noted, though, that effects in the fixed part of the model are not subject to shrinkage, so will become more at risk of multiple testing issues as multiway interactions increase. If we include final-order interactions in the model, these will have the same issue of multiple testing as in the “fixed effects” approach with dummy variables outlined above. The advantage of this iterative approach is that we might not get to that point, if the level-2 variance reaches zero (statistically, based on model comparison statistics such as the Deviance Information Criterion, DIC, Spiegelhalter, Best, Carlin, & van der Linde, 2002) as a result of the inclusion of lower order interactions. Indeed, this seems to be what happens for Johnston et al. (2018), who see the level-2 variance reach zero with just the introduction of some two-way interactions. Similarly, if the variance reaches zero with just the introduction of main effects, that suggests there are no multiplicative effects (no interactions) at all. Once this has happened, one should not continue to test for higher order interactions, as significant effects are likely to be a result of multiple testing. If there remains variance at level 2 when all but the final-order interactions are included, these would represent the remaining, final order intersectional effects, net of lower order interactions, and are probably a better measure of their magnitude than fixed effects estimates (given, by this stage, most residual patterning should be removed to the fixed part of the model by the interactions).

A method like this could then be used to understand the extent and type of intersectionality experienced in the model, and how intersected the variables are. This is an extension of the method suggested by Evans et al. (2018) – they compared the VPC of a model with no effects, and again with main effects, though they did not consider whether the remaining variance is the result of two-way interactions or more-way interactions. By seeing how the level-2 variance decreases as increasing orders of interactions are included, it would be possible to see how “deep” the intersectionality goes – whether it is the result of two variables interacting, three, or more.

Fisk et al. (2018), in their study of Chronic Obstructive Pulmonary Disease, found that the level-2 variance in their logistic model reduced from an ICC of 20% to 1% with the introduction of main effects in the fixed part of the model, finding only three significant intersections (out of 96). They downplay the importance of that 1% variance, stating the three interactions are “about what would be expected by chance” (p. 16). We disagree slightly with this interpretation. First, our simulations suggest that intersections will be erroneously significant much less than 5% of the time, given at least some shrinkage will have occurred, so it is likely that those three intersectional effects are real. Second, in a logistic model, an ICC of 0.01 is a small but not substantively insignificant effect size (Duncan & Raudenbush, 1999, p. 33), so the results imply that there remains some potentially important intersectional effects. It would have been interesting to see (a) whether the remaining level-2 variance was statistically significant (compared via the DIC to a model without this term), and (b) whether the inclusion of two-way interactions reduces the variance, and significance of those three interactions. This would help to judge whether the remaining significant intersections were actually the result of low-order (e.g., two-way) interactions.

Overall, these results can be summarized as “OK, but”. The model is an improvement on the dummy-variable fixed-effects approach, but it is not perfect, and the nuanced approach suggested above could improve it further. It is worth noting, though, that the approach is inherently exploratory and so will be most valuable when repeated studies show the same results.

It should be noted that the results found here have implications beyond the study of intersectionality – it is relevant to all studies using multilevel models to identify “significant” level-2 units. For example, if a study of student attainment finds that certain schools are significantly better or worse than others, it could be that there is an unmeasured attribute of the school that is causing greater level-2 variance, reducing shrinkage and so introducing differences between schools that do not actually exist. This study should act as a warning (a) to include higher level variables as fixed effects in a multilevel model, and not to rely on higher level residuals to identify such differences, and (b) to not over-interpret differences between higher level units like schools, as in the presence of important unmeasured variables, they could be vulnerable to the perils of multiple testing.

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