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Pollack (2003) has emphasised that the European Commission, the European Parliament and the European Court of Justice have all played an important, albeit varied, role as engines of European integration alongside the governments of the Member States. It is true that the powers of agencies are more limited than those of these three institutions.

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The perception that the Commission is a driving force of European integration might therefore be due to a selection bias in empirical studies. The results of the empirical analysis of the Commission's legislative agenda-setting activity between 1979 and 2007 are consistent with the implications of this view.

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