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By Wira Gardiner

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<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13528165.2011.578728>

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which arguably initiated the tradition.⁵ The presence of the haka once more embarrasses, Gardiner, Wira (2007 [2001]) Haka: A living tradition, 2nd edn

http://www.academia.edu/1429664/Embarrassing_Time_Performing_Disunity_Rugby_the_haka_and_Aotearoa-New_Zealand_in_the_United_Kingdom

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http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harawira_Tiri_Gardiner

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<http://www.nameaning.net/both/Haka>

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In previous posts I have mentioned the haka, Gardiner, Wira. Haka: A Living Tradition. 2nd ed. Auckland: Hachette Livre, 2007. Ka ai, T nia (2004),

<http://weavenews.org/blogs/isabelborman/2004/haka>

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