



***Hwabyung* in Korea: Culture and Dynamic Analysis**

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Abstract *Hwabyung*, which means anger (fire) disease, is a culture-related anger syndrome in Korea. The symptoms include a subjective feeling of anger with anger-related bodily and behavioral symptoms. The symptoms seem to symbolize the nature of fire (anger) and its suppression and/or release. According to the patients' explanation, reactive anger, resulting from being a victim of an unfair situation, must be suppressed so as not to jeopardize harmonious family or social relationships. However, if the unfair situations continue, the suppressed anger "accumulates and becomes dense", and finally causes a disease. Defense mechanisms related to *hwabyung* were found to be suppression, inhibition, withdrawal, somatization, and oral consumption. The concept of *hwabyung* seems to have been shaped by Korean people's socio-cultural experiences throughout history. Such historical experiences have developed a unique, collective emotional reaction called 'haan', which is a chronic suppressed anger resulting not only from the tragic collective national history, but also from a traumatic personal life. Accordingly, *hwabyung* shares many components with *haan* and seems to be a pathologic form of *haan*. Additionally, *hwabyung* and *haan* are commonly related to other Korean cultural heritages including shamanism, traditional medicine, the culture of the relationship ("jeong") and collectivism, and the traditional philosophy of the 'han' in Korea. Finally, a suggestion was made regarding the conceptualization of an "anger disorder" based on the studies of this anger syndrome.

Key words: *hwabyung*, *haan*, Korean culture, anger disorder

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INTRODUCTION *Hwabyung* (火病), whose literal meaning is "anger disease" or "fire disease", is known as a Korean culture-related syndrome related to anger (Lee, 1977; Lin, 1983 Min et al., 1986). In Korean, 'hwa (火)' means "anger" as well as "fire". Ordinary Koreans have used this term for a long time, but it is not found in textbooks of traditional Korean medicine. The purpose of this paper is to review studies on the concept of *hwabyung*, its clinical correlations, and its relatedness to Korean culture.

CLINICAL STUDIES OF *HWABYUNG*

a. Epidemiology

In a previous survey, 4.1% of the general population in a rural area in Korea were reported as having *hwabyung* (Min et al., 1990). *Hwabyung* was reportedly found more frequently in middle-aged

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or older women of the lower social class (Min et al., 1987). Many individuals with *hwabyung* have said that they converted to Christianity when they began to suffer from this disorder.

b. Etiology

Patients' Explanation

The etiology of *hwabyung* has been described by patients as being anger, 'hwa (火)' (anger) and/or other anger-related negative emotional reactions including 'uk-wool (抑鬱)' and/or 'boon (憤)', which have been accumulating for a certain period of time (Min et al., 1987; Min, 1989).

It is difficult to translate the Korean words 'uk-wool', or 'boon' to English. 'Uk-wool' refers to an individual's mood when their desires are blocked by unfair social powers, which is translated as "vexed", "mortified", "regrettable", "victimized", "suffer unfairness", "falsely accused", or "mistreated". 'Boon' is a word used to describe one's mood when they are unable to overcome an unfair social power, which is translated as "resent", "exasperate", "indignant", "mortified", "vexed", "chagrin" or "sorry" ('Uk-wool' and 'boon' will be described in this paper as a "feeling of unfairness").

The etiological life events involved in the development of *hwabyung* are situations involving unfair social situations, or psychosocial injustice, which includes chronic familial conflicts (Min et al., 1987; Min, 1989). Many Koreans with *hwabyung* feel that they are the victims of chronic social aggression. The most common source of these feelings of victimization is a stressful relationship, such as that between a housewife and her mother-in-law and/or husband. Others sources include various forms of social unfairness including suppression, violence, deprivation, discrimination, exploitation, poverty, failure in business, unfair trial, betrayal, or swindling. Patients with *hwabyung* explain that they have had to suppress or inhibit their anger, so as not to jeopardize peace in the family or harmonious social relationships or that expression of anger has been blocked. According to the patients' explanation, if such unfair situations are repeated, suppressed (抑) anger (火), a feeling of unfairness ('uk-wool' and/or 'boon') "accumulates and becomes dense (鬱)", and is finally expressed in symptoms of *hwabyung*. Suppression and control have been strong social codes of behavior in the traditionally familial, collective, and Confucian culture of Korea. Most patients know already that their *hwabyung* is a psychogenic disorder.

Defense Styles and Coping Strategies

It has been argued by a group of psychiatrists that *hwabyung* develops due to anger and its incomplete suppression and somatization (Lee, 1977; Min et al., 1987). According to a study using the Korean version of the Defense Style Questionnaire developed by Bond and colleagues (Andrews et al., 1993), defense styles of patients with *hwabyung* were somatization, suppression, and oral consumption (Min et al., 1993). Coping strategies include avoidance of stimulus, externalization (projection), help-seeking complaining, impulsiveness (acting out), pseudo-altruism, omnipotence, fatalism, and fantasy. These results suggest that, in *hwabyung*, suppression of anger seems to be incomplete.

c. Symptoms

The main symptoms of *hwabyung* are subjective anger, feelings of unfairness ('uk-wool'/'boon'), heat sensation with anger-related somatization, behavioral symptoms as well as general neurotic symptoms including depression and anxiety (Min et al., 1987; Min & Kim, 1998). The psychological symptoms are characterized by subjective anger, feelings of unfairness, 'haan', many random thoughts, hatred and guilt, as well as depression and anxiety. Behavioral symptoms are sighing, tearing, talkativeness and an impulse to open doors or go-out from closed situations. The somatic symptoms are characterized by heat/hot sensations in the body (including hot flushing, redness on

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the face, or intolerance to hot environments), a feeling of something pushing-up in the chest, palpitation/heart-pounding, respiratory stuffiness/oppression, a mass in the epigastrium or chest, dry mouth, insomnia, and anorexia. In spite of their depressed mood, the patients are very talkative. If given the chance, typical patients with *hwabyung* tend to talk for a long time (*‘hasoyeon’*) with many tears and sighs, about how they have suffered from unfairness and how they have nevertheless controlled their hatred and revengeful thoughts. *Hwabyung* is generally a chronic illness (Min & Hong, 2006).

Dynamic Meaning of Symptoms

In *hwabyung*, a part of the anger is defended, while other parts are partially or indirectly expressed. *Hwabyung* is similar to an inactive volcano, under which there is hot flame and boiling lava ready for eruption. Some *hwabyung* symptoms seem to symbolize the nature of fire (anger), which includes sensation of heat, something pushing-up, and dry mouth. Respiratory stuffiness seems to symbolize the suppression of fire-smoke of anger. Some symptoms seem to symbolize the release of anger, including talkativeness, sighing, and crying. Fleeing from hot, stuffed, closed conditions seems to symbolize avoiding suppressed anger-related conditions. Opening doors and windows seems to symbolize cooling-down or ventilation of stuffed respiration. In particular, a mass in the epigastrium/chest seems to be a result of “accumulation and becoming dense” with anger, which is sometimes referred to as ‘hwa’. Many random thoughts (雜念) seem to combat the anger.

Symptoms of *hwabyung* seems to play a sick-role (Min et al., 1987). *Hwabyung* seems to provide patients a channel to let others know and understand what kind of suffering patients have and what kind of care should be provided. Also symptoms of *hwabyung* seem to provide patients with a chance for getting attention from important others and an excuse for not doing his/her social or interpersonal duties.

d. Treatment

Min and colleagues (1987) reported that before visiting a psychiatrist, many *hwabyung* patients had already sought help from 2.4 treatment modalities on average. Most *hwabyung* patients had visited physicians, including internists other than psychiatrists. Others had visited pharmacists, traditional herb physicians, and then psychiatrists (Min & Hong, 2006). It is noteworthy that some patients sought help from Christian faith healing (confirming prayer) and shaman rituals (‘goot’).

Hwabyung is closely related to an oppressive environment, many treatment methods including psychotherapy, drug treatment, family therapy and community approaches have been suggested (Min et al., 1989; Kang & Lee, 1998). It is also necessary for psychiatrists to enrich their treatment strategies with teachings from traditional and religious healing methods.

CULTURAL RELATEDNESS OF HWABYUNG

1. Culture of Haan

Haan, as a unique traditional collective sentiment of Koreans, may be defined as a pathos, a chronic mixed mood of missing, sadness, suppressed anger, feeling of unfairness (‘uk-wool’ and ‘boon’), or “everlasting woe”. In the Korean-English dictionary, ‘haan’ is translated into English as “grudge”, “rancor”, “spite”, “regret”, “lamentation”, “grief”, or “hate.”

Haan has been thought of as a unique, collective, emotional reaction of Koreans resulting not only from a tragic collective national history, but also from a traumatic personal life including exploitation, poverty, and war throughout their nation's history (Kim, 1997; Chung, 1990).

On an individual level, *haan* is usually related to various life events, which include a failed romantic relationship, separation from a romantic partner (typically ‘jeong-haan’), unmarried state, marital

problems, sexual frustration, domestic violence, having no children, early separation from or death of parents, poverty, life hardship, lower family class, low education level, having no chance to show one's filial piety (孝) before parents' death (typically 'hoe-haan'), chronic disease, handicap, cripple, deformity, having troubled children, unfair trial, swindle, betrayal, and being injured. Typically, *haan* has been associated with women, who have been regarded as the weaker sex in Korean society (Lee, 1978; Chung, 1990; Park et al., 2002). Another group is the lower class, which includes maids, servants, butchers, tanners, shamans, and roaming entertainers.

The *haan* of the national level has been traced to when old kingdoms of Korea in Manchuria, Koguryo, from which the name of Korea is derived, were lost. *Haan* has been related also to past, repeated invasions and exploitations of aggressive neighboring countries. In particular, Japanese colonization and exploitation caused *haan* in many ways: *haan* of draftees, atomic bomb victims, comfort women (Min et al., 2004), leaving home country, and forced immigration to foreign countries. During the Korean War, *haan* developed due to killing, family separation, leaving home, and loss of property.

Through their long period of endurance and forbearance due to unfair external violence, Koreans' suppressed and accumulated anger and feeling of unfairness has been transformed into a collective and/or personal *haan*. *Haan* has been transmitted from generation to generation of Koreans. Many Korean intellectuals have discussed the history of *haan*. Therefore, the word '*haan*' is considered to be a key word to the understanding of Korean culture.

The mood described by *haan* is complex and has been defined in various ways. When *haan* has a component of longing for a lost loved one, it is called 'jung-haan (情恨)'. When *haan* has a component of harboring hatred and revenge, it is called 'won-haan (怨恨)'. When *haan* is related to regret for not having done one's best, it is called 'hoe-haan (悔恨)'. When *haan* is very painful, it is referred to as 'tong-haan (痛恨)'. These states of *haan* overlap each other. In *jeong-haan*, components of *hoe-haan* and *won-haan* may exist. Lastly, all of the above noted *haans* are commonly related to anger.

Defense Style in *Haan*

Defense style and coping strategies related to *haan* were reported to be somatization and suppression-inhibition-withdrawal, splitting-projection, passive-aggressiveness, oral consumption, primitive idealization, stimulus reduction, self-pity, shared-concerns, and dependency (Min et al., 1997)

Signs of *Haan*

The signs of *haan* (Chung, 1990; Min et al., 1997) include chest stuffiness/oppression, epigastric mass, sighing, tearing, and much talking ('hasoyeon'). Typically *haan* is expressed by patients through extensive narrative talking with tearing and deep sighing, as in *hwabyung*, about how they have suffered from unfairness, how they have tried to control anger, a feeling of unfairness ('uk-wool'/'boon'), and how they try to forgive. These somatic and behavioral signs of *haan* seem to reflect, as in *hwabyung*, the suppression of anger and anger-related emotions, and the releasing of such emotions. Mass in the epigastrium or chest is a result of the "accumulation and becoming dense" of anger, which is the same as in *hwabyung*.

Haan* and *Hwabyung

Individuals with *hwabyung* used to report that they not only have many feelings of *haan*, but that *haan* was a major reason for their illness (Min 1991; Min et al., 1997). Furthermore, patients' explanation on etiology and the symptoms of *haan* are similar to those in *hwabyung*. But signs of *haan* are somewhat milder than symptoms of *hwabyung*. Defense styles including suppression are similar between *hwabyung* and *haan*. Anger in *haan* seems to be more suppressed, passively expressed, sublimated, and coped with in healthier ways. On the other hand, anger in *hwabyung* is partially suppressed. *Haan* is a collective, stable and paradoxically somewhat positive emotional state, while *hwabyung* is a form of personal illness. Therefore, *hwabyung* seems to be a pathologic or disease form

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of *haan* on a spectrum of chronic anger (Min, 1991). If people with *haan* cannot find a way to express suppressed anger in healthy ways, they then suffer from *hwabyung*. In the metaphor in which *hwabyung* is like an inactive volcano, an anger attack is like an active volcano with an explosive eruption of flame and lava, while *haan* is like a calm extinct volcano, which may look beautiful like Baekdu or Fuji.

Haan-puri* and Treatment of *Hwabyung

If *haan* is a part of Korean culture, then it is natural that Koreans have developed healing procedures for *haan*, which is generally referred to as ‘*haan-puri*’ (solving *haan*). ‘*Puri*’ in Korean means solve, resolve, dissolve, untie, unbind, loosen, unpack, disentangle, unravel, appease, and fulfilled. Through *haan-puri*, people have been able to release negative emotions in positive and creative ways.

Short-term *haan-puri* includes cathartic talking, being comforted or appreciated, or joyful playing (sometimes called as ‘*hwa-puri*’). Long-term *haan-puri* includes wish-fulfillment, restoration of self-esteem, or achieving success after long-time effort. For example, the *haan* of a mother who has suffered from poverty, less education, a violent husband, or a harsh mother-in-law, can be solved (*haan-puri*) many years later through the success of her son, for which she had endured hardships and sacrifices. The *haan* resulting from not having had a good education may be resolved by donating part of one’s savings to educational institutes or entering a primary school course at an older age. *Haan*, especially *won-haan*, is sometimes resolved, productively or destructively, by revenge or social revolution. Final victory means that victims have to endure the hardship for a long time with digesting, fermenting, controlling or cultivating anger. When someone expresses *haan* in creative, artistic, or humorous ways, they are praised as having ‘*mut*’, which means smartness, elegance, or “cool”. Recently, religious practice of forgiveness has been proposed as a way of *haan-puri* (Oh, 1995).

Many Korean scholars have insisted that *haan* has been transformed, sublimated, or fermented into energy for life, creation, or production of socially meaningful results, including cultural arts and social reformation. *Haan* has naturally been a resource for traditional folk culture of people. Many beautiful cultural heritages of Korea, including songs (folk song and *pansori*), mask dances, folk-painting, and dim-blue or cold-white ceramic wares, which have been created by unknown, low-class masters, have been related to people’s *haan*. *Won-haan* of people is sometimes expressed in the form of a violent social revolution. For example, a farmers’ military rebellion against local government in the 19th century, called ‘*Donghak-ran*’, is described as a revolutionary campaign to solve their collective *haan*.

Even today’s Koreans’ passion to overcome their historical *haan*, especially the *haan* of poverty and political suppression, has led Koreans to work hard for economic growth, industrial achievement, and modern democratization. The educational fever of Korean parents for their children is an example of *haan-puri* for their low education or inherited poverty. Recently, the emotional power of *haan* seems to find ways to be expressed in pop art performance, the so-called ‘*hallyu*’ (flow of Korean culture).

The high spirit experienced while working for *haan-puri* in creative and productive ways is called ‘*shin*’ (神), or ‘*shin-baram*’ (“wind of *shin*”). This state includes enthusiasm, joy and excitement, and even divinity in shamanism (‘*shin-myung*’, 神明).

All these methods of *haan-puri* can be applied but it includes not only part of *haan-puri* but also immediate retaliatory responses such as abuse or violence.

2. Other Cultural Components

Shamanism

Shamanism may be regarded as a kind of thought system to explain nature, human suffering, and coping. To Koreans, *hwa* (anger), *hwabyung*, and *haan* have been related to suffering. In shamanism in Korea (Rhi, 1970; Kim, 1972), suffering is usually attributed to an evil spirit. Typically, a patient's suffering, illness, or disease is considered a result of possession by an evil spirit of the dead who died of anger, a feeling of unfairness ('uk-wool' / 'boon'), and *won-haan* ("revenging *haan*"). One example is a dead virgin woman who was killed by a brutal man while resisting rape.

Accordingly, *hwabyung* patients or people with *haan* visit *mudang*, a shaman, for help. A typical shaman ritual for healing is called 'sal-puri' ('sal' means evil attached, and 'puri' means solving, as in *haan-puri*). The ritual consists of a process of calling a spirit into the body of *mudang*, pleasing with music, letting the spirit talk of its suffering through the mouth of *mudang*, letting the spirit reconcile with living people who accept those sufferings, and then asking spirit to leave this world in peace. A typical shaman ritual for *haan-puri* is known as 'Jin-do ssikim-gut' (a ritual of cleansing of Jin-do island) with a procedure known as 'ko-puri' (disentangle knot, a knot of *haan*). Sometimes a stronger spirit is called by *mudang* to expel an evil illness. One famous powerful spirit-god is general Choi-Young during the Koryo Dynasty, who was respected greatly by people, but was assassinated by a political enemy in serious 'ukwool' (anger).

Traditional Medicine

Traditional Asian, Chinese, or Korean medicine is a thought system for nature and disease. In this medicine, health is restored by harmonious interaction between *yin* and *yang* and among the five 'qi's (fire, water, wood, metal, and earth) in various body organs. The concept of *hwabyung* seems partly to be rooted in a traditional medical concept called *wool-hwa*, meaning accumulation of *hwa* (qi of fire) (Kim, 2004). These kinds of diseases may be controlled by *qi* of the opposite element, water.

Culture of Jeong

In Korea, besides *haan*, there is another term for national and cultural sentiment that term is 'jeong' (情). *Jeong* is a psychological state comprised of love, caring, and attachment, which develops through long-term relationships like cathexis or bonding. *Jeong* is typically manifested in a familial relationship like that between husband and wife, and its use is extended to other strongly-bonded relationships: *Mo-jeong* for mother's *jeong* toward her child, *ae-jeong* or *yun-jeong* for *jeong* between lovers, and *wu-jeong* for *jeong* between friends. When *jeong* is denied, betrayed, or refused, Koreans used to feel sadness mixed with anger. If this occurs between those in a romantic relationship, it is called *jeong-haan*. In an old poem it is said, "too many *jeong* is like a disease, so I cannot sleep!". Women frequently attribute their *hwabyung* to anger after the *jeong* has been broken by betrayal by their husband (Min, 1989).

Collectivism

Like *jeong*, Koreans are said to have developed the unique culture of a "we" relationship (Chung & Cho, 2006). For example, a Korean used to call his wife "our" wife instead "my" wife. By saying "our" or "we", they seem to try to show that they have a strong *jeong*-bonding with others. This phenomenon seems also to be reflected in the Korean culture of harmonious, family-oriented, interdependent collectivism. In this "we" culture, one tries to control oneself to not be aggressive to others. Suppression and endurance are virtues. *Hwabyung* seems to be the result of an effort by a victim not to jeopardize a "we" relationship with others. Therefore, it is natural that *hwabyung* frequently develops under the pressure of a socially relatedness like marriage (between wife and husband or mother-in-law) rather than blood-related family.

Han Philosophy

There must be a basic common thought system which underlies all the cultural phenomena of Korea including *haan*, *jeong*, family-oriented we-collectivism, and shamanism. The author believes that is a so-called ‘*han*’ philosophy.

‘*Han*’ means “one”, “big”, “whole”, or “brightness.” When it is positioned in front of other words, it means one, same, much, intense, together, peak, middle, very, and best. Among them, *han* is used for expressing important concepts like ‘hana’ (“one”), ‘Han-gul’ (Korean alphabet), ‘hana-nim’ (God), ‘Han-guk’ (Korea), and ‘hanul’ (heaven). Examples of *han* philosophy in the cultural history of Korea include shamanism and myth. The myth of the birth of Dangun, founding Father of the nation, says that Dangun was born as the son between a heavenly God and a human women on earth who had transformed from a bear (nature) through passing a hard test. Another examples are ‘poongryu-do’ (風流道, tao of “wind and stream”, manifested by intellectuals with literal and artistic elegance and living with nature), and ‘Hwarang-do’ (花郎道) (tao of a group of flowery young men [*hwarang*] who had trained themselves for excellence in literature, bravery and martial art and traveled nation worshipping nature, grouping around a young beautiful lady) in Shilla dynasty. In daily life it is exemplified by ‘bibimbab’ (mixing rice with various seasoned vegetables with “chili sauce”). “We are one” was a typical slogan which was shouted by excited supporters at the World-Cup soccer game.

Accordingly, the ancient philosophy of *han* seems to represent Koreans’ ideal or wish to become one, reconcile, be integrated or harmonize with others, society, nature, and God (or gods) (Kim, 1983). Naturally, this philosophy sometimes appeared in the form of new religions, such as *Han-ul-gyo* (“one-spirit religion”), in history when a nation suffered from troubles from within or outside.

In human relationships, *han*-mind is typically expressed collectively in we-relationships and *jeong*. If this wish to become or remain in “one” is refused by separation or the attachment is lost or betrayed, Koreans tend to feel anger as well as disappointment. If this kind of frustration repeats and accumulates, *haan* or sometimes a more pathologic form of *hwabyung* may develop.

Fire-likeness in Today’s Korean Culture

How are Korean culture-related *haan* and *hwabyung* reflected in current social phenomena? First, words like fire, hot, heat, boiling, and decaying are frequently being used in daily conversations of Koreans. For example, *hwa-kkun* means not only feeling hot and hot-flush, but exciting or sexy.

Red-Devils is the name given to a group of one thousand fervent Korean supporters for the Korean team at World-Cup soccer games. They dressed uniformly in red and gathered in a huge crowd. Their behavior seems to reflect we-ness or one-ness collectivism and a kind of *puri*. Its symbol of face of an ancient king seems to have a shaman component.

Another example is *hot kimchi*, a typical Korean cuisine which is a vegetable fermented with hot red chili, garlic, and pickled fish. The so-called “*palli-palli* (hurry-hurry) syndrome” is a behavioral example, that describes the hasty or quick-temper of many Koreans. Other examples are Korean barbecue on burning charcoal or a soup of hot sauce in the pot boiling on a butane gas burner. Koreans like to eat these meals while they are on fire.

Newspapers frequently report about suicide which was attempted “in anger” or someone who set fire to his house in a fit of anger (*hwa-gim*). Another similar word is ‘*hwa-sul*’, which describes drinking alcohol to solve anger. The recent increased incidence of alcoholism and suicide is therefore not surprising in Korea.

In plain words, Koreans like it hot not only in temperature, color, and taste, but also in temper, emotion, and behavior. All of these facts seem to reflect the emotional “dynamic” of Korea. Professor Kim (1997), a famous literal critic, said that Koreans are just a “mass of fire”.

FUTURE RESEARCH

1. Beyond the Culture-relatedness of *Hwabyung*

Should anger syndrome only be found in Korea? Perhaps not. It is plausible that anger syndrome should exist wherever there is anger suppression. Chronic anger and its suppression may have different names in other cultures, but it should be a universal phenomenon in human societies. Chung (1990) suggested all Asian women have *haan*. The Dalai Lama (1997) has spoken on anger to the Tibetan people. In USA, anger attacks were reported in patients with major depression (Fava et al., 1993). Anger has been considered generally as one of the vital etiology in many disease including cardiovascular diseases, cancer, and pain. Nevertheless, anger and anger-related syndrome has not received proper attention in psychiatry (Kennedy, 1992).

2. Anger Disorder Proposed

Based on *hwabyung*, a chronic anger syndrome in Korea, the author proposes a new disorder: anger disorder.

Similar descriptions are found in the literature: state anger and trait anger by Spielberger et al. (1995), irritability by Kennedy (1992), aggressive disorder by Yudofski and coll. (1987), dysfunctional anger by Deffenbacher (2003), and anger attack in patients with major depression by Fava et al. (1993). All these examples seem to describe an acute form of anger disorder, while *hwabyung* is a chronic form of anger disorder.

When the phenomenological descriptions of *hwabyung* are examined, it is clear that the current DSM or ICD classification schemes apply poorly to culture-related syndrome like *hwabyung*. In this regard, DSM or ICD system may also be criticized as being cultural. The question could be asked as to whether both of them have Euro-American biomedically based cultural heritage (Hughes, 1996).

Emotional disorders have been conceptualized based on types of emotion: mania for pleasure, depressive disorder for sadness, and anxiety disorders for anxiety, fear, and tension. Thus, there is no reason not to have a disorder for anger. The potential universality of anger syndromes and the failure of the DSM or ICD diagnostic systems to include anger-related disorders suggest that there is a need to develop a new concept of anger disorder to be included in a revised international classification system. Therefore, *hwabyung*, with its specific and sensitive symptoms of subjective anger and its physiological and behavioral symptoms, should be categorized as a distinct disorder, despite its local cultural-relatedness.

International Collaborative Study is necessary to study anger-related syndromes, such as *hwabyung*, found in other cultures. The establishment of an anger disorder would serve as a good example of the conceptualization of a new disorder based on research on the diagnosis of culture-bound syndrome.

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