

Integrating the Buddhist Concept of Non-Self (*Anatta*) in Psychotherapy: Implications for Anxiety, Depression, and Emotional Distress

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Abstract

The non-self (*anatta*) concept is a distinctive and psychologically vital teaching in Buddhist philosophy. Scholars and psychotherapists working in mindfulness interventions draw on various Buddhist teachings and practices in clinical settings, and many empirical studies demonstrate their effectiveness. This study aimed to investigate the significance of integrating the non-self concept into therapeutic interventions addressing mood, stressors, and anxiety-related mental health problems. The study was conducted as a descriptive textual analysis and case study review using qualitative methods. Data collected from primary sources of Buddhist literature, secondary sources, and scholarly databases were analysed thematically, generating five major themes: The Self and the Non-self in Buddhist thought, Non-self for reduction of ego-centred thoughts and self-criticism, Emotional regulation and Strengthening of Compassion and Loving kindness, Non-self concept integrating in Psychotherapy, and Case studies from the Buddhist literature.

The study concluded that the concept of anatta offers a therapeutic model with unique means of addressing distress, anxiety, and depression by reducing rigid attachments to the self-concept, thus guiding individuals away from mental affliction. It also helps manage negative emotions associated with stress, anxiety, and depression, while fostering positive emotions such as loving-kindness, compassion, and equanimity. It further guides the creation of healthier social relationships and the development of altruistic behaviours. The integration of the non-self concept into various contemporary therapeutic interventions, along with case studies from early Buddhist texts, has shown its effectiveness and applicability. It was suggested that a more systematic model integrating the anatta concept as a core component in therapy be developed, and that Randomised Controlled Trials be conducted to prove the feasibility and effectiveness of the particular intervention across cultures in future research.

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Introduction

Buddhist teachings have become an increasingly demanding area of research interest among scholars in the field of counselling and psychotherapy, who conduct both empirical and theoretical research. Psychological researchers and practitioners incorporate Buddhist concepts as alternative therapeutic approaches, aiming to enhance therapeutic outcomes and provide progressive benefits to clients, particularly within the mental health context. For example, mindfulness and other contemplative practices are widely researched and applied, and have become a major part of some psychological interventions. Mindfulness-Based Stress Reduction (MBSR) by Jon Kabat-Zinn (1990), Mindfulness-Based Cognitive Therapy (MBCT) by Segal and colleagues (2004), and Dialectical Behaviour Therapy (DBT) introduced by Marsha M. Linehan in the 1980s (Linehan, 2001), are few therapeutic approaches that integrate Buddhist teaching and mindfulness meditation. Scientific research applying these interventions reveals positive outcomes for many psychological problems, such as distress, depression, and anxiety, among people in various settings, including oncology, education, and industrial and organisational contexts (Rouleau et al., 2015; Shennan, Payne, & Fenlon, 2011; Zhang et al., 2015).

In addition to mindfulness and other

contemplative practices, scholars are increasingly exploring the therapeutic value and potential effectiveness of key Buddhist teachings, such as non-self (*anatta*), a distinctive teaching in Buddhist thought. Researchers and practitioners suggest that integrating the Buddhist concept of *anatta* into counselling and psychotherapy may yield increasingly positive outcomes in interventions for addressing mental health issues such as distress, anxiety and depression. This study focuses on investigating the relevance and applicability of the non-self concept in counselling and psychotherapy to help clients overcome symptoms of stressor, mood and anxiety-related disorders.

The concept of non-self (*anatta*) is a fundamental teaching in Buddhist philosophy, often combined with the concepts of *anicca* (impermanence) and *dukkha* (suffering). Together, the three are called the *tilakkhana* (three fundamental characteristics of all phenomenal existence). The non-self concept holds that the Self (*atta/ ātma/ ātman*) is not a fixed and permanent entity but a dynamic, changing, conditioned process in beings. Beings, including humans, suffer and create many internal and external problems by clinging to the Self as 'I, me, my, mine, my soul'. Many psychological problems, such as distress, anxiety and depression, are also rooted in rigid attachment to the self and the world. Therefore, this paper explores the integration of the non-self concept in Buddhist philosophy into

modern counselling and psychotherapy, particularly proposing its value as a therapeutic model that addresses emotional suffering.

Literature Review

Anatta (Pali: *anatta*, Sinhala/ Sanskrit: *anātma*, English translations: non-self/ not-self/ no-self) is a key teaching in Buddhist philosophy, discussed and explored by the Buddha in many of the suttas in the Tipiṭaka. The discourse on the non-self characteristic (Anattalakkhaṇa Sutta) in Saṃyuttanikāya (SN) III (SN 22.59 PTS: S iii 66) is one of the teachings explained and discussed with the Buddha's first five groups of disciples at the early stage of the Buddha's *sāsana*. There, the Buddha addressed the group of five Bhikkhus (*pancavaggiya*) and explained that all five aggregates - *rūpa* (form), *vedanā* (feeling), *saññā* (perception), *sankhāra* (formations), *viññāṇa* (consciousness) - are not self, as they cannot be controlled, regulated, or changed by one, even when thinking or attempting to do so, saying, 'Let my form be thus, let my form be not thus.' Similarly, many other suttas in the Tipiṭaka, such as Brahmajāla Sutta in Dīghanikāya (DN), Cūlasaccaka Sutta in Majjhimanikāya (MN), Anāthapiṇḍikovāda Sutta in MN, and Rādhā Sutta in SN, explain the nature and characteristics of the concept of *anatta* (non-self).

In recent research, many scholars propose applying the concept of *anatta* in psychotherapy. Paul R. Fulton (2008), in *Mindfulness and the*

Therapeutic Relationship, edited by Steven F. Hick Thomas Bien, provided a chapter titled "*Anatta*: Self, Non-Self, and the Therapist" that explored the Buddhist concept of *anatta* (non-self) and its implications for the therapeutic process. The chapter discusses how understanding the notion of non-self can influence a therapist's approach, facilitating a more profound connection with clients. Fulton argues that the therapist's awareness of self and non-self can enhance therapeutic presence, allowing for a more authentic and effective therapeutic relationship. By letting go of rigid self-identities, therapists may foster greater empathy and understanding, ultimately benefiting both the therapeutic alliance and client outcomes. Thus, Fulton stresses the psychological value of the therapist's attitude of *anatta*, benefiting clients in therapeutic relationships.

Furthermore, Singh et al. (2023), in K. Singh and G. Saxena's book 'Religious and Spiritual Practices in India: A Positive Psychological Perspective', compile a chapter titled 'Buddhism and Its Contribution to Positive Psychology' and explain the positive psychological value of the concept of *anatta* and a few other key Buddhist teachings. It mainly explores the *anatta* concept from a positive psychological perspective. Simona, D. and Amritha, K. S. (2024) provide a chapter on 'Suffering, Self, and Healing: Common Psychological Themes in Buddhist Thought' and indicate that the concept of *anatta* (non-self) in Buddhism challenges the idea of a permanent self, proposing that identity is a fluid construct of changing

aggregates, leading to suffering through attachment to the illusion of a fixed self. This notion differs from modern psychology, which emphasises a coherent sense of self for mental health, but contemporary therapies like mindfulness integrate Buddhist principles to encourage non-attachment and the observation of thoughts as transient processes.

Moreover, Setwong, S. (2025) conducted a study in Thailand titled ‘The Concept of *Anatta* (Non-Self) and Its Implications for Contemporary Identity and Philosophy’. The study argues that the concept of *anatta* (non-self) challenges conventional notions of identity and selfhood and suggests that an attitude of *anatta* reshapes understanding of free will, moral responsibility, and relational identity. He further proposes that mindfulness practices informed by *anatta* are significant for enhancing resilience and psychological well-being. Additionally, the concept of *anatta* and related teachings have informed the development of psychometric scales. For instance, Sahdra and colleagues developed the Nonattachment Scale in 2010 as a 30-item scale to measure nonattachment, which may manifest in everyday life (Devine et al., 2022). Thus, the concept of non-attachment (*anatta*) has been widely discussed in fields related to psychological studies. Based on this previous literature, this study expects to explore the *anatta* concept as it is compiled in the Theravāda Buddhist tradition and to propose a model for *anatta* concept-integrated psychological intervention addressing anxiety, stress, and mood-

related psychological disorders.

Objectives

The objectives of this study are:

- To explore the philosophical basis of the non-self (*anatta*) doctrine within Theravāda Buddhist teaching.
- To examine the psychological relevance of the concept of non-self to contemporary mental health practice.
- To investigate the feasibility and effectiveness of a therapeutic intervention integrated with the non-self concept, using case studies and previous research.
- To propose how the non-self concept can be integrated into counselling and psychotherapy interventions addressing stressors and mood and anxiety related disorders.

Methodology and limitations

This study was conducted using qualitative research methods, combining philosophical-textual analysis and thematic analysis of selected Buddhist sources on the concept of non-self, alongside recent scholarly research on counselling and therapeutic models. The Theravāda Tipiṭaka and related secondary sources, along with online academic databases such as Google Scholar, JSTOR, and ResearchGate, were used for data collection. Data were analysed and discussed using the thematic analysis method (Braun &

Clarke, 2006), and relevant conclusions were drawn. This was limited to a textual study, and only the Theravāda Buddhist tradition was examined.

Result and Discussion

Data collected in relation to the research objectives were analysed under five major themes. They are The Self and the Non-self in Buddhist thought, Non-self for the reduction of ego-centred thoughts and self-criticism, Emotional regulation and the strengthening of compassion and loving-kindness, the integration of the Non-self concept in psychotherapy, and case studies from Buddhist literature. These themes are discussed and elaborated as follows.

Theme I: The Self and the Non-self in Buddhist thought

Buddhist teaching offers a clear explanation of the self and the non-self, revealing the realities of attachment, clinging, and related characteristics of the human mind. Among many other discourses compiled in the Tipiṭaka, the Anatta-lakkhaṇa Sutta - The Discourse on the Non-self Characteristic – offers a detailed discussion of *anatta* (non-self) and its nature. Additionally, several discourses titled Anatta sutta, Anattadhamma sutta, Anattaniya sutta, and Anattānupassī sutta compiled in the SN, reveal different aspects of the self and the non-self concept. In a general sense, *anatta* is the opposite of the Self (*atta/ ātma/ ātman*), and therefore the attitude of non-self opposes modern psychological theories of the self and attachment.

As depicted in the Anatta-lakkhaṇa Sutta in the SN, the Buddha explains the concept of *anatta* while addressing the Pañcavaggiya Bhikkhus at Benares Isipatana Park. Simply put, it emphasises that the five aggregates, from which beings are formed, are not-self, and that nothing in them can be clung to as I, me, my, mine, myself, or my soul.

“Bhikkhus, form is not-self. Were form self, then this form would not lead to affliction, and one could have it of form: ‘Let my form be thus, let my form be not thus.’ And since form is not-self, so it leads to affliction, and none can have it of form: ‘Let my form be thus, let my form be not thus.’” (Saṃyuttanikāya III; SN 22.59 PTS: S iii 66, Ñānamoli Thera, 1993).

According to this explanation of the Buddha, if *rūpa* (form) were the self, one should be able to control, regulate, shape and reshape it as desired. For instance, if the skin were the self, I should be able to control it as desired and wish without succumbing to disease, decay, or change. However, no one in reality can control or stop the process of change within the body, mind, or the external world. Therefore, the Buddha teaches that form, the physical body, or appearance is not self, and there is nothing within form to cling to by craving — ‘this is I, this is mine, or this is my soul’. Likewise, the other aggregates—*vedanā* (feeling), *saññā* (perception), *saṅkhāra* (formations), *viññāna* (consciousness)—are also not self, both internally and externally, and are impermanent, painful, and non-self by their very nature. The discussion

between the Pañcavaggiya Bhikkhus and the Buddha, as described in the Anatta-lakkhana Sutta, illustrates this as follows;

"Bhikkhus, how do you conceive it: is form permanent or impermanent?" — "Impermanent, venerable Sir." — "Now is what is impermanent painful or pleasant?" — "Painful, venerable Sir." — "Now is what is impermanent, what is painful since subject to change, fit to be regarded thus: 'This is mine, this is I, this is my self'?" — "No, venerable sir." (SN 22.59 PTS: S iii 66; Ñānamoli Thera, 1993)

This quote indicates that form is subject to change over time and to the effects of various factors, making it impermanent, and that no one can alter this reality. This is the nature of all forms, whether in humans or other physical materials. If there is something in the universe that cannot be changed, controlled, or regulated as we need—whether internally or externally—it is painful and causes suffering, and it is not truly pleasurable. Even though beings cling to these with the misunderstanding that temporary and fleeting feelings are real and everlasting, this understanding is mistaken. Therefore, what is impermanent, painful, and causes suffering is not self or not belonging to the self, and it should not be regarded as 'This is mine, this is I, this is myself/ soul.' Instead, one should develop the intention, notion, and perception of the reality as 'This is not mine, this is not I, this is not my self/my soul,' which is called the thinking of non-self (*anatta*).

Buddhist thought rejects the notion of a permanent, unchanging self or soul, and shows that the self is a collection of constantly changing, shaping and reforming processes of physical and mental phenomena. This idea is further elaborated in the teaching of the five aggregates, called *Skhandha*. In the discourses, the Buddha uses the notion 'self' (*atta*), i.e., *attāhi attano nāto; atta dīpā viharatha atta saraṇā*, in the common sense and common convention of the world, but not in the sense of a permanent self or unchanging entity. The Vajirā sutta in SN states that,

"This is a heap of sheer constructions: Here no being is found. Just as, with an assemblage of parts, the word 'chariot' is used, So, when the aggregates are present, There's the convention 'a being.'" (SN 5.10 PTS: S i 134 CDB i 229; Bhikkhu Bodhi, 1997).

Thus, the self or being is merely a convention used in the world for the convenience of perception and communication. However, in reality, the being or the self is a collection of different parts within the body. These are generally called *Skhandha* (aggregates), and the being, human or animal, is a collection of those five aggregates. These aggregates are not permanent, solid entities; they are also composed of many other parts. For example, the aggregate of form (*rūpakkhanda*) is a collection of forms (*rūpa*), and they are described in various ways: five organs (*panca indriya*), thirty-two parts of the body (*detiskunapa*), and twenty-eight-fold *rūpa*, etc. Furthermore, all these forms are constructed from the

four kinds of elements (*Satara Mahā Dhātu*): the earth element, the liquid element, the fire element, and the wind element. The Mahā-hatthipadopama Sutta: The Great Elephant Footprint Simile (Majjhimanikāya I, 2007) clearly explains the nature of these four types of elements and why one should not cling to them as ‘This is mine, this is me, this is my self/soul.’

Theme II: Non-self for reduction of ego-centred thinking and self-criticism

The understanding of the non-self characteristic gradually diminishes deeply rooted ego-centred thinking, attitudes, and schemas within an individual. It then leads the person to realise the ultimate reality and true nature of the self, life, and the elements of the phenomenal world. Usually, people become depressed and anxious, suffering as they perceive the world through craving and cling to the self and possessions, thinking that this is I, this is mine, and so forth. Once, Bhikkhu Rādhā asked the Buddha, ‘A being, A being, it is said. To what extent is one said to be a being?’ The Buddha replied that ‘Any desire, passion, delight, or craving for form..., feeling..., perception..., fabrications..., consciousness: when one is caught up, tied up, there one is said to be a being’ (Saṃyuttanikāya. SN 23.2, Satta Sutta).

It explains that as long as one grasps things or aggregates with craving, they suffer from that ego-centred thinking. For example, children create sandcastles and play as long as they love, desire and crave them. They think they are theirs

and cling to those sandcastles with craving, and therefore, if they break or are destroyed, they feel depressed, angry, cry and suffer psychologically. That is because of the deeply rooted ego-centred thinking. However, when they become free from that desire, love and craving, they stop playing with those sandcastles and smash and demolish the castles by themselves. Thus, when a person is free from craving, grasping and clinging to something, they will detach from that particular thing or property, and no longer will they suffer psychologically when it is broken, destroyed or lost.

Similarly, Buddhist teachings show that beings suffer, become depressed, or develop harmful ideas and behaviours because of attachment and ego-centric intentions. This naturally leads to various internal and external problems. Understanding the concept of non-self – the teaching that there is nothing to grasp, as ‘this is I, this is mine, or this is my soul’, internally or externally – can free a person from psychological suffering. However, a counsellor or psychotherapist should responsibly ensure that the client understands this is the reality of the universe. Recognising this reality is not about refraining from all things, properties, or relationships, but about engaging with them with this understanding. When clients internalise the teaching of *anatta*, they often experience relief from the psychological pressure of maintaining a fixed self and identity, which reduces self-criticism and shame. This psychological shift helps individuals develop a healthier self-concept that is neither harmful nor

clingy, leading to reduced depression, anxiety and distress.

Theme III: Emotional Regulation and Strengthening of Compassion and Loving-Kindness

Psychological suffering, such as depression and anxiety, is generally linked to difficulties in regulating emotions. According to the criteria of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-V), patients with Major Depressive Disorder show depressed mood most of the day, as indicated by either subjective reports, such as feeling sad, empty, or hopeless, or by observations made by others, such as appearing tearful, and they show diminished interest or pleasure in all (DSM-V, 2013: 160). In contrast, patients with Disruptive Mood Dysregulation Disorder show chronic, severe, and persistent irritability and frequent temper outbursts, which lead to aggression against property, self, or others (DSM-V, 2013: 156). People suffering from anxiety disorders mainly show features of excessive fear and anxiety and related behavioural disturbances (DSM-V, 2013: 189). Therefore, they need counselling and psychotherapeutic support to regulate their mood and create positive emotions.

The cognitive shift achieved through understanding the non-self encourages a person to think constructively, leading them to develop compassion and loving-kindness towards themselves, others, and all beings in the universe. This is because they have reduced selfish and egocentric thoughts. Most people

become depressed, angry, and fearful, which causes them to grasp at things with craving, thinking that this is I/me, this is mine, this is my property, and so on. However, when they realise that all things and beings are merely constructs of elements or aggregates, and that there is nothing inside or outside to claim as mine, they gradually reduce feelings of depression, aggression, and irritability. Additionally, the person cultivates positive emotions such as loving-kindness (*mettā*), compassion (*karuṇā*), sympathetic joy (*muditā*), and equanimity (*upekkhā*) towards themselves and others (Nyanaponika Thera & Ñāṇamoli Thera: 1958). Therefore, this emotional transformation plays a significant role in alleviating interpersonal and intrapersonal distress, social anxiety, and loneliness. They may become more cooperative and forgiving, and engage in altruistic behaviours.

Theme IV: Non-self Concept Integrated in Psychotherapy

Scholars suggest that mindfulness interventions integrated with key Buddhist teachings will be more powerful, beneficial, and fruitful than applying mindfulness alone in therapy. Many scholars have proposed that contemporary clinical applications of mindfulness training would similarly benefit from theory-driven integration within a wider intervention (Hung, 2010; Gunalankara, 2024). Several therapeutic interventions incorporate key Buddhist teachings, including the non-self concept, into their therapies and apply them in clinical settings. For example, Dharma Therapy, developed

by Sik Hin Hung in 2010, incorporates several core Buddhist concepts, including the Law of Dependent Origination (*paṭiccasamuppāda*), the Four Noble Truths (*ariya sacca*), the Three Marks of Existence (*tilakkhaṇa*), the Law of Karma and its effects (*kamma* and *vipāka*), and mindfulness meditation (*sammā sati*) as a key component (Hung, 2010; Gunalankara, 2024). The concept of non-self (*anatta*) is part of the Three Marks of Existence (*tilakkhaṇa*), and clients are made aware of the non-self reality during counselling sessions, as appropriate to their problems and discussions.

Furthermore, Mark Epstein's 1995 publication 'Thought Without a Thinker: Psychotherapy from a Buddhist Perspective' introduces the therapeutic value of mindfulness and Buddhist teachings, including the non-self concept, and he further elaborates his ideas in the 2008 publication 'Psychotherapy without the Self: A Buddhist Perspective' (Epstein, 1995, as cited in De Silva, 2014; Epstein, 2008). The Buddhist version of the Religiously Integrated Cognitive Behaviour Therapy (RCBT) model, developed by Joseph W. Ciarrocchi and others, integrates key Buddhist teachings such as the Three Jewels, the Four Noble Truths, the Eightfold Path, Vipassana and other meditation methods, and concepts like *kamma*, reincarnation, and *nirvāṇa* (Ciarrocchi et al., 2014). However, it does not directly apply the non-self concept in therapy, and it is used only as part of the key teachings. Although some psychotherapeutic interventions incorporate the non-self

concept, they do not apply it directly in therapy, instead using it in conjunction with other teachings and mindfulness practices.

According to the Buddhist literature analysed above, the concept of non-self is a rich resource that can be applied in counselling and psychotherapy, particularly for addressing mood-related disorders such as distress, depression and anxiety. Therefore, mindfulness-based interventions such as MBSR and MBCT can be applied to such clients, and the *anatta* concept can be integrated into counselling to raise awareness of the reality of the self. This understanding can help clients develop constructive thinking. Additionally, this insight and positive thinking may lead to the development of positive emotions, empathetic and compassionate social relationships, and behaviours aimed at both self-growth and altruism.

Theme V: Case Studies from the Buddhist Literature

Many cases that can be studied within the *anatta* concept to improve psychological health are found in early Buddhist literature. The Buddha himself, as well as many *arahant Bhikkhus* such as Sāriputta Thera, have guided individuals suffering from mental health issues, including symptoms of depression and anxiety. For example, the Nakulapitā Sutta in SN-3 and the Anāthapiṇḍikovāda Sutta in MN (Middle Length Sayings) III describe cases in which the teaching of the non-self concept helped individuals cope with their psychological suffering.

According to the Nakulapitā Sutta in SN-3, the householder Nakulapitā was suffering severe physical and mental pain in his later life. He first met the Buddha and expressed his grievances. The Buddha advised him to think in this way: “Even though I may be afflicted in body, my mind will not be afflicted. That is how you should train yourself” (Thanissaro, 1997). However, Nakulapitā did not fully grasp the meaning of this advice, and he subsequently sought clarification from the venerable Sāriputta Thera, asking him to explain in detail. In response, the venerable Sāriputta Thera first explained how people become afflicted in mind and body.

"Now, how is one afflicted in body & afflicted in mind?

"There is the case where an uninstructed, run-of-the-mill person — who has no regard for noble ones, is not well-versed or disciplined in their Dhamma; who has no regard for men of integrity, is not well-versed or disciplined in their Dhamma — assumes form (the body) to be the self, or the self as possessing form, or form as in the self, or the self as in form. He is seized with the idea that 'I am form' or 'Form is mine.' As he is seized with these ideas, his form changes & alters, and he falls into sorrow, lamentation, pain, distress, & despair over its change & alteration.” (Saṃyuttanikāya III Woodward, 1925:1 & Thanissaro, 1997)

According to this explanation by Sāriputta Thera, one suffers psychologically as well as physically

by grasping the five aggregates - form, feelings, perception, fabrications and consciousness - with the idea of ‘I am form’, ‘Form is mine’, ‘I am feeling’, ‘Feeling is mine’, etc., and one falls into sorrow, lamentation, pain, and distress. To overcome these psychological sufferings, one must refrain from these ego-centred thoughts and develop a non-self attitude. Sāriputta Thera said, “He (the one) is not seized with the idea that 'I am form' or 'Form is mine.' As he is not seized with these ideas, his form changes & alters, but he does not fall into sorrow, lamentation, pain, distress, or despair over its change & alteration.” (Saṃyuttanikāya III Woodward, 1925:1; Thanissaro, 1997). The sutta finally indicates that the householder Nakulapitā delighted in these instructions, followed them, and found them supportive in managing his psychological suffering. Similarly, the householder Anāthapiṇḍika, Venerable Channa, Venerable Punna (Majjhima Nikāya III Horner, 1999), and many others found relief from their psychological suffering by following the teaching of non-self. These cases indicate the effectiveness and feasibility of integrating the non-self concept in counselling and psychotherapy, especially for mood, stressors, and anxiety-related mental health issues.

Conclusions

The non-self concept in Buddhist teaching provides a comprehensive framework for understanding the nature of phenomenal existence and serves as a tool for alleviating human psychological suffering, such as sorrow

and lamentation. It demonstrates the futility of clinging to the self and others, whether through attachment to I, me, my, mine, or to the self/self-soul, as nothing internally or externally can be grasped through craving. As a therapeutic model that leads individuals to this realisation, the concept of *anatta* offers a unique means of addressing distress, anxiety, and depression by reducing rigid attachments to the self-concept, thereby guiding individuals away from mental affliction. It also helps manage negative emotions associated with stress, anxiety, and depression, while fostering positive emotions such as loving-kindness, compassion, and equanimity. It further guides individuals in building healthier social relationships and developing altruistic behaviours. The integration of the non-self concept into various contemporary therapeutic interventions, along with case studies from early Buddhist texts, has demonstrated its effectiveness and feasibility. However, this model proposes a psychotherapeutic intervention that incorporates the non-self concept as a core component, alongside mindfulness practice, and its effectiveness across cultures should be explored through high-quality Randomised Controlled Trials in future research.

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