Introduction
- Chinese medicine exercises take place at the interface of social and cultural life, public health, and urban space in China
- How have COVID-19 regulations impacted and transformed the practice of Chinese medicine?

Objective of the Study
To evaluate and critically analyze the ways that Chinese medicine, as an industry and as bodily practice, has been incorporated into and transformed by the novel coronavirus pandemic. To assess what this specificity means for health policy in China, medical anthropology, and historiography of the global pandemic.

Methods
- Ethnographic research comprised of participant observation, attendance of Chinese medicine-related conferences and events, and interviews with Chinese medicine practitioners and experts
- Consultation of CNKI (China’s largest research database) for writing on Chinese medicine

Results
- Herbal Chinese medicine has been incorporated into 91.5% of COVID-19 hospital treatments in China, crucial to any analysis of the pandemic’s effects
- Makeshift hospitals have appropriated their architecture to accommodate group exercise formations, demonstrating resilience and new theories/practices of space
- Crucially, many practitioners I spoke with demonstrated that universal, “one-size-fits-all” conceptions of the pandemic and public space are insufficient (e.g. 6 feet / 2 meters)
- Many interlocutors referenced the Five Phases ecological system, urging health practitioners and urban planners to “think elementally in the future”
- In this theory, the materials that comprise urban architectures, and the spatial flows that urban spaces prevent or allow, have much to do with the transmissibility of viruses and other social ills
- Two “pandemic-proof” smart cities are being commissioned that will incorporate Chinese medicine-related insights into their plans

Discussion
- Chinese medicine is being used to shore up a particular vision of social space under and after pandemic conditions. More research must be done on the future of the entanglements between Chinese medicine, health policy, urban planning, and politics China.

Questions
- What kinds of political visions underlie these connections between a national ethnomedicine, urban planning, and health policy in China? How does this complicate universal pandemic narratives?

Conclusion
- Chinese medicine is a powerful hinge through which new political, medical, ecological, and urban visions are being articulated, especially after COVID-19.

Acknowledgements
I am deeply grateful to the Center for Health and Wellbeing for its generous support and funding; to Professor João Biehl for his steady encouragement and advising; and for all those I spoke with and consulted in the process of my ethnographic research.