

Transcript of Interviewee #4 (17/03/25)

Interviewer: Hello, we talked over the email, but my name is Jodie, a master student at the University of Sydney School of Architecture, Design and Planning and am the responsible researcher of this study. Thank you for agreeing to participate.

Please note you can withdraw at any time about this interview, even after it's finished and if you withdraw, we'll take your responses out of the research study. For this interview, I'm going to be asking you some questions about what you think of the boundaries of Western Sydney when shown on a map and what makes it different from the rest of Sydney. There are no right or wrong answers and for answer the questions, I'm going to provide you with a map called Map 1, which I have, and later I will provide you with a map called Map 2. This Map 1 is for you to look at I think about the key question - where is Western Sydney?

Feel free to draw lines, arrows, images, comments or mark anything on map one to show where you think Western Sydney starts and ends. You can draw on this map at any time before the end of the interview, and I will let you know when you are reaching that end, make as many changes as you like.

So I'm going to start the interview questions now. In whatever way you like, tell me a little bit about yourself and where in Sydney you live.

Interviewee: So I'm forty at the moment. I live in Epping, so a suburb of Epping, which, depending on who you speak to, is the northern districts, northern suburbs, or if there's been a really heinous crime, it suddenly becomes "north-west" - the emphasis on 'west'.

So, look, I've lived in Sydney pretty much all my life aside from when I did that dalliance that a lot of young Australians do when I lived in the UK for a number of years until the GFC hit. I came back to Australia in 2009 and I work as a General Manager in safety and environment so I work in environmental engineering in a remediation company so at the moment, so a combination of being in the office doing bullshit versus being out on site um but all my roles since I've come back have been very much in the contracting, services, facilities management, commercial real estate sector.

Um, have been based here in Sydney – this role that I'm at the moment, because I refuse to take on a management role they keep trying to get me to take, is concentrated on New South Wales, the ACT, and New Zealand. In my previous employment I've had multi-national responsibilities, so primarily Australia and New Zealand, but my last job until it got restructured in 2022, uh for 10 years I had NZ area but also Japan and other parts of Southeast Asia in my remit also. But I spent a lot of time on the road, different faces, different places, is what I like uh and thankfully I have a company vehicle so that

when I do have to travel around, particular New South Wales and ACT, I'm not putting wear and tear on my own vehicle and they paying for fuel and all that.

Interviewer: No, that's good. What are the first four words come when you read or Western Sydney?

Interviewee: Can you provide some context as to who I might be hearing that from or -

Interviewer: Nope, nope. It's just the question as is.

Interviewee: If I'm reading it in the media or hearing it on the radio – sorry just give me one sec.

Interviewer: All good.

Interviewee: Don't know who that is, a dodgy number from Tasmania. I don't know anyone from Tasmania at the moment so it can't be important.

If I hear it on the radio, or if I read it online, for example a news post – not social media, it's shit – um, it's generally something bad unless we're talking about infrastructure projects, otherwise the term 'Western Sydney' is almost used as the term of derision, for want of a better term, even though it's the, statistically it's the fastest growing region in the entire country but yeah that's pretty much from what I hear.

But if it's friends or family saying 'Western Sydney', then depending on where they were - my brother, before he moved down to Melbourne with his uh missus, who was a PhD candidate, is actually now an academic at Monash – uh he moved to Crows Nest and considered anything west of the Pacific Highway to be 'western suburbs' or - I was on the wrong side of the Red Rooster Line because I was living at Oatlands but Oatlands had the same postcode as Dundas, so even though it was the north-west of the Hills District, that was apparently the western suburbs.

Um, but generally speaking, for you know, friends, family, I'm speaking for when say 'western suburbs', they generally sort of mean the Parramatta region out west, um, from Parramatta, rather, out west, and probably as far as Penrith, all that Penrith valley sort of crosses over the Nepean River. Um but it might go as far north, as say, Windsor, and not too much further south of Penrith, so let's just say, you know, Kemp's Creek, Orchard Hills sort of area. So it's generally what I'd hear from friends and family.

In the office, if someone says 'western suburbs', that just means anything west of where our offices – I was going to say Western Sydney – our main office is at uh Macquarie Park so they just consider being there a bit egalitarian. Anything west of Macquarie Park, right there on the M2, ah not the M2, the Epping Road but near the M2, that's all the 'western suburbs', the 'badlands'.

Interviewer: So in in your personal opinions, like, um so, the words that you come to your mind - so a sense of derision?

Interviewee: It depends on what the source of the words are. And like I said, if it's media in any form, whether it's the radio, except for example, whatever they used to call it – 2WS – which is always the Western Sydney station, and the Daily Telegraph likes to pretend they're about 'Western Sydney' but it's just a mouthpiece for Rupert Murdoch anyway - um but if I hear it on the radio, if I read the news, or if I was - I don't watch much TV - but if I was watching the nightly news or something, it's a sense of derision, a sense of despair, or just where all the 'bad stuff' happens, or alternatively the only positive spin they may might put on it is, you know, the home of the 'battlers'.

Whereas for myself with friends and family, it's more just a, a geographic thing, you really live in the 'western suburbs', or you live in the suburbs, we live in the city, and you might live in the beaches and there's not really too much of a change between the Northern Beaches, and say, the Eastern Suburbs but that's sort of friends and family, like I said.

If it's, uh, work, 'western suburbs' means anything west, of uh, west of Macquarie Park and until the phone number starts with 024 instead of 029, or 028, so anything outside of metro Sydney.

Interviewer: Ok, that's really good. Um, I mean, continuing on with your theme, what are your perceptions or associations with Western Sydney today?

Interviewee: Uh, sort of depends on some of the suburbs to be totally honest. Um, i've generally found that, my perception is that it's a lot more, to a certain extent, a lot more um accommodating and there's, there's like a fine balance between it being homogeneous, and also extremely diverse as well, because you've got these wonderful little pockets of various different – not just socio-economic groups - but also the various different cultures that find a level of unity or safety among people of their own particular background.

Um, so for me personally, the western suburbs is a, is a location, it's just somewhere that I need to go to but I use as a point of reference. I don't like summarising stuff like that unless I was talking about, for example, like the Riverina, but even if I was talking about the Riverina, I'd say the north or southern part because there's so different types of industry and the like.

But what I do associate, unfortunately, with the western suburbs, the term, is a lot more of industrial uh and, also given my line of work, a lot more contamination of land and water. Um, and to a certain extent, a lot more disadvantage, um and again that's through -

Interviewer: What types of disadvantage?

Interviewee: Look, economic, more than anything else, access. It is, it is a massive lack of equity for people who live in the 'western suburbs' of Sydney.

I mean, I live in an area that is incredibly tolled, I mean at least those, you know, living in the geographic west have the M4 and there's only a toll at the interchange of James Ruse Drive. Uh I will take the M2 from here to my office, which is 6 kilometres by road, I'd pay \$9.96 in tolls, um but the 'western suburbs', I mean accommodation by way or whether it's rental or housing purchases, although price in Sydney have just got absolutely mental over the past few years, it'll be more associated with um, you know, cheaper costs, people who may not be able to - I'm gonna use this term very, very loosely just to convey my thoughts - but enjoy, perhaps that finer things of life which you would? I don't wanna say -

Interviewer: I mean it's a good thought, what are the finer things of life? Like give us an example.

Interviewee: Yeah, it's used as a sort of catch-all there. I mean, having, for example, access to convenient and readily available public transport that is reliable. I mean, the train line only goes west and there's nothing that really branches down into that Metro that's gonna to St Mary's to the new airport. The bus services, they've all dropped off since COVID lockdown, it's unreliable public transport.

There's an incredible reliance on private transport, whether it's vehicles and the like, um, you know, huge amount of housing and rental stress, um and you know even, schooling is considered to to not be on the same par as that of other regions of Sydney. I mean if you, if you said you went to Chifley College, which is in Dunheved, versus someone who went to North Sydney Boys, regardless of what - I'm gonna say UAI [University Admissions Index], I don't know what's called now what UAI is, people look down their nose at you because you went to a school in Dunheved as opposed to, you went to a high tier selective high school in, well, on the lower North Shore -

Interviewer: What do you think drives that, like drives people's, like their derision of someone's high school for example?

Interviewee: Part of it's taking the piss with your friends, a lot of that is Australian culture where it's, to a certain degree, it's egalitarian, but it's also everything is up for just having the piss taken out of it, generally speaking.

I went to Normanhurst Boys, which is, I was growing up that's the northern suburbs, but people would like to say it was the lower North Shore, it's like, it's near Hornsby, Hornsby's not classy, guys. Um, and, even then, I mean, we would give shit to kids who went to Pendle Hill High School, one because it was a comprehensive school as opposed to selective um but we definitely would look down our noses at people who to, for example, even Carlingford High School, as opposed to Arthur Phillip and the like.

So part of it can be the way you're brought up with your family. Um, I think part of it's also just what people's exposure is if we talk about the younger generations that are in

school, there's the exposure to, you know, the thoughts of their parents, their family, but also the teachers. I know that I had a couple of teachers in high school, who were, you know, teachers tried to want to teach in the inner city or another northern suburb schools cause it seemed to be better for whatever reason, there was a bit of contempt there.

Um, I hate to think of what the impacts is these days with social media on younger people but I think, it's a combination of that jocular nature between people, but part of it is just, you know, violence has been continually handed down from generation, generation, and social circles. I suppose the biggest thing that's stopping that from occurring is, or stopping that from disappearing, is people not stepping outside their own comfort zone or even seeing these areas for themselves.

Interviewer: I mean, because you spend a lot of time on the road so you probably spend a lot more time travelling metropolitan Sydney and beyond than the average desk worker. Do you think that that accounts for your own perspective? Like how you see the city?

Interviewee: Well, look, yes, and no. I mean, I, I've got my observations of dealing with people. So, certainly living in areas, spending a lot of time in different areas, through extended family, friends, networks and the like. So, I mean, that's, that's shaped in my view, but also there'd be sort of practical about things as well.

Um, so I mean, just going back to what I said before, you know, I think about inequality, let's not say inequality, that's different to inequity um but but inequity of areas I mean, I've I've seen what happens where they create these little ghettos, for example, some parts of Mount Druitt, where it's, you know, seen as a homogenous area. I think it's 12 different council areas with an incredibly high proportion of public and social housing because they've been knocking down these, you know, housing commission complexes in the various suburbs, that was, some not too far from here...

If you ever go to Parramatta with your grandmother, you must have the 550 bus, you can't take that 545 because the 545 went through Dundas, Dundas Valley and Telopea, and that's where they used to relocate the criminals, allegedly, from Parramatta gaol when it was still running and they'll put them in public housing there - granted, Dundas Valley didn't have a massive crime rate per capita compared to other areas. And but just seeing what it's like, unfortunately I think those environments sort of brood and content and allow that to commute to to sort of occur, and I've completely lost track of what your question was about -

Interviewer: No, no, it was about perceptions and associations. So all of this -

Interviewee: I think my, my, perception of areas is more from, I mean, yeah, you do hear stuff from friends and family, but look, I mean, my degrees are somewhat in the league of science background – people to try to tell me – so it needs to be informed.

I mean, if it's a friend of my mine from Parramatta, because I live in Epping, that's west of here, I will take the mickey out of them and call them a 'westie'. I mean, my friends who I was living next to in Oatlands for the best part of 10 years, I always call them 'westie scum' in our WhatsApp group chat just because we just take the mickey out of each other.

Interviewer: What does it mean to be a 'westie' for you? Like, what makes a person a 'westie'?

Interviewee: Again, I mean, it's more, it depends if we're talking about in my social circle, calling themselves a 'westie' maybe because they live in an area that is considered to be western suburbs.

If I'm referring to my, to my former neighbours, which is a joke because I live in Epping now, and they used to live in Oatlands, is a just joke because they're six kilometres away as the crow flies, but to the west of here, so take it as it is, I mean even when I was growing up as a kid, our family house was on the eastern side of our road and my dad would call the people on the other side of the road 'westies' just as a joke, mind you, one of the families were out and about bogans, um yeah.

Interviewer: I guess it follows on the next question is has your view, or how has your view, of Western Sydney, changed over time?

Interviewee: Look, it's changing incredibly, I mean, part of that, well it's predominantly because of urban sprawl more than anything else. There's such a marked difference between the lifestyles, the opportunities, and the natural and built environments in Western Sydney versus other areas of Sydney.

I mean, you think about, for example, you know, let's just say north of the harbour [Sydney Harbour], North Shore, whatever you wanna call, it even the Hills District, and then south around the Shire [Sutherland Shire], and all that - leafy, green, lots of houses, open spaces. There's the Inner West, then there's Sydney CBD, and then the eastern suburbs – a lot more dense um whereas in the western suburbs, generally, or was, apartment's going up everything, it was a little bit more spread out. I mean there's a heat island effect there but you could still have a home, you could still have a yard, um you just might not have all the conveniences you'd have elsewhere in Sydney, um and that being said talking about the green expanses.

I mean, I understand that's completely different we when at places like Campbelltown and Minto where there is a heap of green spaces, but that's a completely different kettle

of fish, you know, if we wanna talk about south western suburbs, that's fine, let me tell you what I think about potato farmers.

Interviewer: What to you is 'south-west'? Um, is Western Sydney just a big region or is it for example, is Western Sydney different to south-west Sydney? Is Western Sydney the same as Greater Western Sydney?

Interviewee: Greater Western Sydney takes up a whole lot of different areas. I mean, if you're gonna say Greater Western Sydney then you've gotta have Greater Eastern Sydney, can't have a Greater Northern Sydney because you're going into the Hawkesbury region, the lower Central Coast. Um, so I mean Greater Western Sydney would take in some of the south-western suburbs, taking the western suburbs.

Interviewer: So do you think it's different from Western Sydney? Like, are they distinct entities?

Interviewee: Uh, 100 percent, 100 percent. I mean, Greater Western Sydney seems like, like a catch-all for a number of different groups, but I mean, like I said, I might include, you know, those parts of south-west Sydney and Western Sydney, and the Hawkesbury – they've all got their own individual identities, they've all got their, for want of a better term, different pros and cons, so can't belong together. Um, I mean, I do understand it is done together in a statistical sense with some departments but, but they are completely different areas.

I mean, there's south-west Sydney, growing up, I mean they only go back a few years ago, I mean you look at areas like Austral and Leppington, I mean, Austral is just becoming a Legoland of houses at the moment. But it was still, I mean we used to joke the same people who lived around Campbelltown and all that were potato farmers because, one, because they looked like farmers and because there was a lot of expanse and green. It wasn't difficult to find people who would live on an acreage even though they weren't that far out of Campbelltown, or that far out of Austral in itself. Whereas yeah, the Hawkesbury region is completely different, you know, more access to waterways, it is a lot more rural in its feeling, and almost a lot more, and when I say rural, probably getting close to be a lot more arid because there's a lot more dry spaces out there. Um, whereas you look at those sort of, when I say inner western suburbs, the inner western ones, off the western suburbs, concentrated around, you know, the M4, and the infrastructure, um, is, is suburban Sydney.

Interviewer: Ok.

Interviewee: So they're very, very different sort of um environments, even south-western Sydney, I mean, where do you draw the line now? I mean, plenty of people will say that south-western Sydney will include even, you know, Fairfield, uh Canley Vale, Liverpool, those sorts of areas, um, and when you include that, I mean, that's my

understanding of, my appreciation of what south west Sydney is. It's a hugely multicultural diverse area, aside if you're speaking to a racist who just says, you know, "it's just Asians", but I mean you've got many different Asian cultures that are down there so it's not just one lumped in group um which I always find found amusing when people were like "gee, I can't tell the difference between –"

Interviewer: Oh yeah, from personal experience, you know

Interviewee: Yeah, whether it's arrogance or ignorance, I don't know, but you know the food is completely different and the squiggly lines you're looking at the signs, guys, those are different languages. Doesn't take a genius to work that out.

Interviewer: I think it's funny because I guess as someone who's lived in, I guess, outer south-west Sydney, so I lived in Leppington for 10 plus years before the station, was born in Bankstown, I think near Georges River now, it's extremely interesting to see the different parts of the south-west. They all do have these own distinct characters, in my personal opinion.

Interviewee: And that's, that's the problem with sort of grouping into, you know, into terms like this because you might be able to describe an area but at the same time, you're going to deny suburb, or a cluster of suburbs, of its own unique identity.

I mean, I grew up in Eastwood, and I remember when I was in primary school and, you know, parents and all, they were talking about when the first Asian supermarket opened in Eastwood. Now you go into Eastwood now, there's hundreds of Asian, various Asian supermarkets. But even Eastwood it has two very different identities when you're talking about the town centre: you've got the western side, which is the side closest to me in Epping which is very much various different Chinese diaspora communities, and even Taiwanese around there, and probably, you know, Han, Hong Kong, Guangdong, Cantonese, Taiwanese, and you've got the eastern side, which is very, very much Korean, or South Korean, rather, um so even the suburb in itself, you can't break down, like they were just, just generalise some incredibly...

Interviewer: Um, with you, I guess this is a very interesting question to round out this bit is what, what do you think makes Western Sydney a distinct part of Sydney?

Interviewee: It's hard to sum it up into one thing; I mean, realistically it's a combination, of a combination of things, it's a combination of the, when I say, the geography, I'm including predominantly, the natural environment, but also the people, the opportunities, I think that's what makes it so much different. Even when we're looking at occupations, we look at those um suburbs, not suburbs, the inner city, inner west jobs, it's all heavily concentrated around services, you know, white collar uh financial services.

Whereas the west is more about, or it just appears to be more about, you know, again services to a certain extent, but also higher concentration of those, those trades and those skills - um that's talking obviously in employment terms. Um, as far the people, and the attitude, seem to be a lot different -

Interviewer: In what way?

Interviewee: Uh, spending, spending a lot of time working in the city, which I absolutely hated, you know, the people were just in – they're like motorists, sometimes - just a lot more rushed and very much a, you know, "me first", "dog-eat-dog" sort of world.

Not saying that doesn't happen in the western suburbs and you know, where there is the pretence of a higher level of crime but, generally speaking, I found people be a lot more laid back, you know. and people will say, you know, if mum's saying, you know, people are rude in the western suburbs, perhaps they're just a bit more genuine? If that, sort of how, yeah, it's with me anyway.

Interviewer: Um, I'm about to - do you have any other comments before I move you to our ending questions with your maps?

Interviewee: No, no, no, it's all good. Just hope I've added some form of, um, some form of something useful for you, it is incredibly hard to articulate – there are a couple of pieces there –

Interviewer: No, no, it all answers are welcome. Um, here is, like, so you will need your Map 1 open. How would you show where Western Sydney start and ends on Map 1? And then talk me through your process? Because I'll ask you to send me a copy of your map by tomorrow, uh midday, um, you know, but as you're doodling, feel free to share your screen. Yeah, and just talk me through it,

Interviewee: Um think I can just share it, keep it one with everything else on it. Um yeah, uh it's all a bit odd um, I like to use, or I would normally use big geographic features somewhat to define an area but I come back, always come back, to the idea of the County of Cumberland because, you know, the whole Bradfield scheme about metropolitan Sydney.

So, I would say, you know, Greater Sydney is as far north to the Hawkesbury, far west to the Nepean, the south, far south is the (???), further south, but obviously, you it includes others areas close to Campbelltown and the like.

Um, let me recover my mark here shall we, em, it might be easier if I just used sort of generic circles wouldn't it? Um, sort of wider area here, let's see. Let's just move it up a bit, you know, what it's not going to work.

Let me start by saying what is not, first and foremost, inner west has always ended around um, for me anyway, around Strathfield-Burwood kind of area. If I was to draw, a,

mum's gonna hate me because it's going right through the middle of Eastwood, draw a line here, it's not accurate, so you've got the inner west here, past the um northern suburbs, upper North Shore, lower North Shore, Northern Beaches, eastern suburbs, and lands just here.

For me, the western suburbs, is Parramatta is the, considered, probably west, and sort of say where it sort of is um, you got here...funny thing is, a lot of area here now seems to be considered western suburbs as well even though I don't necessarily think it is. I almost want to draw a line through here...um.

So what I'd say, and even then, the lines in a couple of areas, the lines aren't perfect so I'd need to go and map out properly, but I almost consider this area with the Salt Pan [Salt Pan Creek] here as being the western suburbs, as you will, um and that's just because it's inner west is I still feel, up Strathfield-Burwood area.

Interviewer: So it's a polygon you've got there, that's Western Sydney to you?

Interviewee: Yeah, so that's generally what I would consider, I mean, I'd need to go and actually map out a bit properly...a little bit more, even, even I, people associate Fairfield, but I mean, I don't feel like Fairfield is part of Western Sydney, I mean it's almost part of – sounds wrong – cause south-west is gonna be more eastern half of Western Sydney.

But almost feels like a sort of, this little pocket, you know, almost as if it's going across from the M7 out to the Nepean, past the Nepean, down across the Warragamba, Silverdale area, which almost, almost in its own right, a separate area in itself, but still including these sort of, areas, industrial areas in Eastern Creek, um you've got Orchard Hills, Eastern Creek, Orchard Hills around here, but you know, definitely concentrated around the M4 corridor um and I'd say south of, south of the M7. Although arguably...you've got areas like Riverstone, Schofields, Marsden Park, Quakers Hill, many would consider would be western suburbs but that sort of the western suburbs for me, but again, I mean, looking at these areas, are country even. So half...exclude Mulgoa, Wallachia, Warragamba, Oakdale, Silverdale and those sorts of areas because they're very much, very very country, um whereas this is a bit more sort of, metropolitan, but at the same time there's a lot of housing areas, light industrial, but, you know.

And this sort of area up here becomes the Hawkesbury area, if you will, um you can even add the Hills District, sort of starting up through here – that might be the line. Hills but even in the Hills it's hard, people say Carlingford but there's definitely a, well you don't see it on this map, but you see it on the um there's a bit of a green belt which goes through, the Bible belt of Sydney here, sort of delineate the old Galston Gorge here so, west of Galston Gorge might be there the wider Hills District perhaps so far as uh - where's Riverstone – say Rouse Hill? So if we come around here, so from there west, into the Hawkesbury region, here is the Hills District.

Interviewer: So what is that to the east in, between your straight line, and then the east of your polygon, what is that?

Interviewee: I don't know, I was, just sort of placed that was as a line that's sort of safe, so this, this will be...just trying to draw a line to say where the inner west sort of finishes, if I was to use that –

Interviewer: Oh, ok, yup

Interviewee: - to use that as a term so I'll say that the inner west, it's not really a straight line. It's like saying north and south of the river, they're completely different areas. Um, in the sort of around here, I would personally feel, you know, Strathfield-Burwood is the end of the inner west, um those sort of, where am I here? That's Ryde Road, down to here Olympic Park and all that, I'd even include Olympic Park in the western suburbs but that's a manufactured suburb, so it doesn't really fit. Like Olympic Park and Wentworth Point, don't fit in or belong to anything else.

North of um the Parramatta River is sort of, what was the old northern districts, which sort of curved around Cumberland, you know, to Lane Cove National Park and you went to the Hills District, and the northern suburbs and northern districts...um north of the M2 is definitely Hills District for me but that's sort of, just for me saying. You know, where's Burwood on the map, where's Strathfield, that's the limit of the inner west. Um, you know, dunno if socially accepted but uh yeah.

Interviewer: So you got your north, um your western polygon and then I've noticed that you've gone a bit beyond Penrith before you move into like Blue Mountains territory as you're most western point.

Interviewee: So, I would say it probably cuts off at the Nepean. It's just completely different. The other thing exception I would say is include Emu Plains because it's still very suburban uh but once you're at the foot of the mountains, here it's sort of Glenbrook when you start driving, when you start climbing up, it's extremely different, the landscape changes, the housing changes, the lack of service changes itself but I would fully say that the western suburbs would end wherever it meets the Nepean and the only exception I would say to that would be to be including that little pocket of Emu Plains up to Glenbrook. Emu Plains is still very much suburbs, it's houses and the like.

Interviewer: So, you've got your south-west which is south of that line.

Interviewee: Hang on, ok, think I've noted it, fixed it now. Eh, so sort of south-west is, you know, I mean, south-west even includes areas like Mount Annan.

Interviewer: How far are you going, south-west?

Interviewee: Big fan of using geographic features. Mount Annan is almost country, huge swathes of national park, um you gotta...this is not bloody accurate, I need to come in and make changes.

It's sort of, this sort of area, including, like not including Auburn, I don't know why I include Bankstown in there, um, such an odd little suburb by itself by way of people in there, but you know the wider circle, um, and Liverpool areas including, you know, Cabramatta, these huge growth areas around Austral and Leppington as well. Um, that's sort of south-west Sydney for me, I know we've got this sort of no man's land here at the moment um

Interviewer: It's all good, feel free to put labels or whatever you need to.

Interviewee: Yeah, so cause, I mean, Revesby doesn't really fit in with just south-west -

Interviewer: Funny enough, I live there.

Interviewee: Oh ok, well there you go! It just doesn't fit in with the south-west, I mean all these -

Interviewer: It depends on who you ask.

Interviewee: Yeah, 100 percent. So the Georges River area, before it sort of becomes the "Shire" – which is just the land of tools – and people who say they live in the Shire and I jist call them the

Interviewer: God's Country

Interviewee: Everywhere's God's Country besides from where -

Interviewer: Isn't it Wollongong?

Interviewee: It's wherever you live, that's all I know. I mean, I say it as a point of derision just joking with people sometimes, "where are you off to tomorrow?", a place that's not a nice place for us to work, just be in a different office, "oh, God's Country" and it might just be our Newcastle office.

Yeah, so this will be south-west Sydney. Um, you've got a pocket of the eastern suburbs here, so Rose Bay, Vaucluse, and Bellevue Hills are completely different from the eastern suburbs, inner city, inner west, ends here and again, and against sort of straight through here Lane Cove and the Paramatta River, what's the, northern districts or northern suburbs, districts west of Pennant Hills Roads and the M2.

Interviewer: I'm about to send you via email - and when you get it - Map 2. And when you get it, Map 2 is the same as Map 1, but it's just a satellite view of the land and patterns of urban settlement. After seeing Map 2, does it affect anything about how you have shown Western Sydney to me in Map 1?

Interviewee: So I don't have access to my personal email on this. Actually, you know what, I'll just forward the email because that I way I can talk to it...still on my work laptops is just easier to keep this one going. While that's sending, I'll just open it up the map on my phone.

Oh again, are you saying does this sort of differ to what I was saying um, I don't think it changes what my perception, or how I describe the areas to you. No, based on a combination of, of where I would draw the boundaries is sort of the roads, and the geography, and the natural environment of the areas, um which is similar to how statistical boundaries are generated half a time. So that doesn't really change.

So I can from the satellite photo, for example, where there is a heavy concentration of, well you can quite easily tell from this image, quite a heavy concentration of um of industrial, I mean, the development of Western Sydney Airport is clear as mud, oh sorry, as clear as day, on this particular map.

Um, but no, this doesn't really change what I'd sort of be saying through those areas. I mean, granted there's some land on those maps that are not occupied with house, and either because of the terrain, or national park or the like, um but using this an area describe something I don't think, would, you know, don't really change her.

I mean, you know, in Map 2, I mean, you look at people, say the Shire region, you know, is anywhere the sort of south of Tom Ugly's bridge, that Miranda-Sutherland area, but, you know, even areas such as Bundeena – is Bundeena part of the Shire or is it not? I mean, depending on who you speak to, it is, because there's a ferry that runs from Bundeena direct Cronulla, but it's part of the Royal National Park, so it's something that itself has completely different, you know.

And even you know that's one of the reasons the Northern Beaches is so different from the upper North Shore because there's, this massive sets of national parks in the way. You've got Garigal National Park, you've got Ku-ring-gai Chase National Park, and then going up to Brisbane Waters, it doesn't really change it, I would think, you know, we're talking about where people live, um, they're very very different identities.

Interviewer: This is the interview but if you any comments please feel free

Interviewee: It's funny, see Prospect Reservoir on the satellite photos –

Interviewer: I know, it's just like one big splotch –

Interviewee: Well, it's just when I look out the window flying back into Sydney, it's like ok, we're yeah, we were smart, we're coming in from the north, coming in from the south, you know, to be honest, it's not far off being the geographical centre of Greater Sydney these days.

I mean, it is used as, as a waypoint for aviations, it hasn't been used – I want to say centuries, well I mean this country hasn't, and when I say country, the colonisation's only been here for two centuries. I mean, I use, i'm just thinking about it now, just flying into Sydney, I use it as a thing to say, "look out the window, alright, so that's where I am" um, so it is a big reference point of reference even when I'm using NEarmaps and um SIXmaps from the government, I often use, I use rivers, I use Prospect Reservoir but when I was living in Oatlands, I could also use Oatland's golf club because I'd see Rosehill Racecourse and the Olympic, oh sorry, not the Olympics Centre, Olympic Park, just to sprt of help me where I am. Even Olympic Park in itself, I mean that's right at...living at Wentworth Point, where it's almost, like from here, you go north, west, east and south, but Prospect Reservoir is like, I know where I am Sydney now on approach...ok, we're landing from the north, we're gonna fly from here, we're going to fly around my place... Sorry I used to do an average of three interstate trips a week...

Interviewer: This is literally the end of the interview. Thank you for participating, your inputs, and your comments, and of course your map.

Please feel free to contact me anytime if you had questions or concerns about the study, or your interview responses. Um, you have the option uh in your consent form or even just that email if you wanted to review your transcript before approving its use for our survey. You have my email details, but feel free to email if you have any issues.

Interviewee: Would you like this map marked up and returned to you -

Interviewer: Oh, however, you wish to submit it for this interview.

Interviewee: Yeah, no, I was saying you needed it by midday, what was it, tomorrow?

Interviewer: Oh, yes, you know, within the next two days.

Interviewee: Oh, I've got to be out in the field morning it depends what time.

Interviewer: No, no, it's all good, no time barriers.

Interviewee: I'll get it to you tomorrow.