Monuments that immortalize athletes and their feats are an ancient custom. Contestants of the Mesoamerican ballgame are depicted in statuettes dating from 1400 BCE, while the Greeks sculpted classical statues of their Olympian athletes. And, just as the public’s fascination with sport transcends the ages, so too the deification and sculptural representation of its sporting heroes has re-emerged, with deeply traditional, figurative bronze images of contemporary stars bristling outside modern stadia and state-of-the-art arenas, as well as gracing civic locations, cemeteries, commercial premises, and sports museums.

As befits its global popularity, Association football (soccer) can claim the largest number and the widest distribution of statues among ancient or modern sports, though boxing and athletics, and the more parochial passions of baseball, American football, and cricket all boast a burgeoning figurative statuary. Over 250 distinct footballers and a further 150 anonymous football playing figures are now depicted by full-body sculptures, with these tributes spread across more than sixty nations.

Historian Eelco Runia has described the desire to commemorate as “one of the prime historical phenomena of our time”—and the vast majority of sports statues have indeed been erected within the past two decades. Statues allow modern individuals and groups to construct, reinvent, consolidate, and project their identities by establishing links with their past. As Judith Dupré notes, the monuments and markers dotting the landscape act as political symbols, displaying values that society wishes to preserve and celebrate, and, by dint of omission, those they wish to forget or ignore.

The recent accumulation of sports statues therefore indicates sport’s exalted place within contemporary society, particularly as a powerful medium for the manifestation of identity, where representations of shared traditions and common origins are combined with the strong feelings of affiliation aroused by the performance of individual athletes.

A growing literature theorizes motivations behind, and interpretations of, statues of sportspeople. In a handful of cases, such as the statue marking the black power salute given by Tommie Smith and John Carlos at the 1968 Olympic Games, or monuments to barrier-breakers such as Arthur Wharton and Wilma Rudolph, commemoration was inspired by wider social or political contexts, and/or an associated desire for reparation and reconciliation. Likewise, particularly in Eastern Europe, there exist a small number of graveyard-sited statues that memorialize lives lost, often at a tragically
young age. However, subject choices within the soccer statuary (and within much of the wider sports statuary) most often point toward a desire, often a wider marketing strategy, to leverage the heritage of a club, organization or city to evoke nostalgia and/or to proclaim authenticity.

Nostalgic feelings related to a sports organization, be they for childhood experiences, great players, or triumphant moments, enhance fans' commitment in the present. The majority of soccer players honored with a statue had their tribute erected around 30 years after their career, pointing toward the use of statues to generate nostalgia. Allied to this, both through their subject choice and realist figurative form, soccer statues promote authenticity and tradition, commodities valued by both current and potential fans. As sociologist Keith Dixon notes, “football fans inhabit a culture where authenticity is constantly scrutinized by themselves and others.” In this way statues offer a solution to a problem faced by football clubs who, in an increasingly globalized and hyper-commodified sport, have sacrificed long-standing traditions in favor of commercial imperatives. Examples include shirt sponsorship, and the development of new stadia sited away from their traditional location. In response to this—and as a public relations distraction from the more commercial aspects of the modern game, such as wage inflation and rising ticket prices—clubs have increasingly exploited their heritage, using retrospective kit designs and naming stands after past players. Statues extend this strategy and, especially for clubs with homogenous new stadia, offer a distinct, club-specific visual identity to an otherwise featureless environment. Where a club lacks the will or the finances, fan groups have often taken up the challenge of organizing and funding a statue project, simultaneously embellishing and making their mark on their match day landscape.

Public art can also invigorate a civic landscape that is otherwise overwhelmingly utilitarian, and proclaim a community's identity. It is unsurprising, therefore, that statues of local soccer heroes have been erected in city squares, parks, or precincts, providing meaningful landmarks in otherwise often indistinguishable urban landscapes. Civic locations boasting soccer statues tend to be those where formerly dominant industries have declined, stripping a town of its raison d'être; where commercial redevelopment has erased long-standing local landmarks; or in new towns where there is little tangible existing built heritage to draw upon. Civic monuments celebrating footballers are most often found in smaller towns or suburban settings where the local context resonates more strongly, and competing statue subjects from other walks of life may be fewer in number than would be the case in a major city.

However, just as the inventory of footballer statues has transcended the boundaries of the stadium environment, membership of the football-related statuary extends beyond the immediate combatants. As of January 1, 2017, the 351 statues of specific football-related subjects in situ around the world included 276 player statues (79 percent), but additionally forty-seven statues of managers or head coaches (13 percent). These main groups are supplemented by smaller numbers of statues featuring chairmen, referees, or broadcasters. The world's football manager statues, and their design, location, and subject characteristics, along with details of further planned manager statues, are listed in Table 4.1.
Table 4.1  The world’s football manager statuary: completed and planned statues as of 1st January 2017, by nation and chronological order of unveiling

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject(s)</th>
<th>Date Unveiled</th>
<th>Nation</th>
<th>Associated Club/Team</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Location type</th>
<th>Sculptor</th>
<th>Design Type</th>
<th>Managerial Career Span</th>
<th>Alive when unveiled?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 Reinaldo Carlos Merlo</td>
<td>01/13/2009</td>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>Racing Club</td>
<td>Estadio Juan Domingo Perón, Avellaneda, Buenos Aires</td>
<td>Club Museum</td>
<td>Daniel Zimmermann</td>
<td>Posed—Standing</td>
<td>1986–present</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 José Santos 'Pepe' Romero</td>
<td>12/08/2012</td>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>All Boys</td>
<td>Estadio Islas Malvinas, Buenos Aires</td>
<td>Club Stadium</td>
<td>Maximiliano 'Tachi' Schamun</td>
<td>Posed—Standing</td>
<td>1981–present</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Carlos Bianchi</td>
<td>10/07/2016</td>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>CA Boca Juniors</td>
<td>La Bombonera, La Boca, Buenos Aires</td>
<td>Club Museum</td>
<td>Enrique Savio</td>
<td>Posed—Standing</td>
<td>1985–present</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Bora Milutinović*</td>
<td>05/14/2002</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>China National Team</td>
<td>Kepu Park, Shenyang, Liaoning</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Action—Controling ball</td>
<td>1977–2009</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Bora Milutinović*</td>
<td>05/15/2002</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>China National Team</td>
<td>Kepu Park, Shenyang, Liaoning†</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Zhaoyang Guo</td>
<td>Triumph—Moment</td>
<td>1977–2009</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Jack Charlton</td>
<td>10/26/1994</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>Eire National Team</td>
<td>Cork Airport, Cork</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Action—Other</td>
<td>1973–1996</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject(s)</th>
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<th>Nation</th>
<th>Associated Club/Team</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Location type</th>
<th>Sculptor</th>
<th>Design Type</th>
<th>Managerial Career Span</th>
<th>Alive when unveiled?</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Árpád Fekete</td>
<td>09/29/2012</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>CD Guadalajara</td>
<td>Estadio Jalisco, Guadalajara</td>
<td>Club Stadium</td>
<td>Jorge Frausto Arias</td>
<td>Posed—Sitting</td>
<td>1957–1990</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nils Arne Eggen</td>
<td>Planned 2017</td>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>Rosenborg BK</td>
<td>Lerkendal Stadion, Trondheim</td>
<td>Club Stadium</td>
<td>Sculptor TBC</td>
<td>Design TBC</td>
<td>1971–present</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Bobby Robson</td>
<td>07/14/2016</td>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>Sporting Lisbon</td>
<td>Pestana Vila Sol Golf and Resort, Vilamoura, Algarve</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Posed—Sitting</td>
<td>1968–2004</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guus Hiddink</td>
<td>06/21/2008</td>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>Russian National Team</td>
<td>Moscow Treatment and Recreation Complex, Malorechenskoye, Crimea</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Evgeny Yablonsky</td>
<td>Posed—Standing</td>
<td>1987–present</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anton Malatinský</td>
<td>08/19/2016</td>
<td>Slovakia</td>
<td>FC Spartak Trnava</td>
<td>Štadión Antona Malatinského, Trnava</td>
<td>Club Stadium</td>
<td>Pavla Dubinu</td>
<td>Posed—Standing</td>
<td>1956–1984</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manolo Preciado</td>
<td>06/07/2013</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Real Sporting de Gijón</td>
<td>El Molinón, Gijón</td>
<td>Club Stadium</td>
<td>Vicente Santarua</td>
<td>Triumph—Moment</td>
<td>1995–2012</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Date of Birth</td>
<td>Nationality</td>
<td>Club</td>
<td>Stadium</td>
<td>Home Town</td>
<td>Posed—Standing</td>
<td>Action</td>
<td>Year Range</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Şeref Bey</td>
<td>03/19/2008</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Beşiktaş JK</td>
<td>Dünya Barış Parkı, Fulya, İstanbul</td>
<td>Home Town</td>
<td>Hakan Ersis</td>
<td>Posed—Standing</td>
<td>1911–1924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Bill Shankly</td>
<td>12/04/1997</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>Liverpool FC</td>
<td>Anfield, Liverpool</td>
<td>Club Stadium</td>
<td>Tom Murphy</td>
<td>Triumph—Moment</td>
<td>1949–1974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Sir Alf Ramsey</td>
<td>08/22/2000</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>Ipswich Town FC</td>
<td>Portman Road, Ipswich, Suffolk</td>
<td>Club Stadium</td>
<td>Sean Hughes-Quinn</td>
<td>Posed—Standing</td>
<td>1955–1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Sir Bobby Robson</td>
<td>07/16/2002</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>Ipswich Town FC</td>
<td>Portman Road, Ipswich, Suffolk</td>
<td>Club Stadium</td>
<td>James Butler</td>
<td>Action—Directing play</td>
<td>1968–2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Stan Cullis</td>
<td>06/14/2003</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>Wolverhampton Wanderers FC</td>
<td>Molineux, Wolverhampton, West Midlands</td>
<td>Club Stadium</td>
<td>Sean Hughes-Quinn</td>
<td>Posed—Standing</td>
<td>1948–1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Brian Clough</td>
<td>05/16/2007</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>Middlesbrough FC</td>
<td>Albert Park, Middlesbrough, Teeside</td>
<td>Home Town</td>
<td>Vivien Mallock</td>
<td>Action—Running</td>
<td>1965–1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Jock Stein</td>
<td>03/05/2011</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>Glasgow Celtic FC</td>
<td>Celtic Park, Glasgow</td>
<td>Club Stadium</td>
<td>John Mckenna</td>
<td>Triumph—Trophy</td>
<td>1955–1973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Don Revie</td>
<td>05/05/2012</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>Leeds United FC</td>
<td>Elland Road, Leeds</td>
<td>Club Stadium</td>
<td>Graham Ibbes</td>
<td>Action—Directing play</td>
<td>1961–1985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Sir Bobby Robson</td>
<td>05/06/2012</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>Newcastle United FC</td>
<td>St James Park, Newcastle</td>
<td>Club Stadium</td>
<td>Tom Maley</td>
<td>Posed—Standing</td>
<td>1968–2004</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Continued)
### Table 4.1 Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject(s)</th>
<th>Date Unveiled</th>
<th>Nation</th>
<th>Associated Club/ Team</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Location type</th>
<th>Sculptor</th>
<th>Design Type</th>
<th>Managerial Career Span</th>
<th>Alive when unveiled?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>43 Sir Alex Ferguson</td>
<td>11/23/2012</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>Manchester United FC, Old Trafford, Greater Manchester</td>
<td>Club Stadium</td>
<td>Philip Jackson</td>
<td>Posed—Standing</td>
<td>1974–2013</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48 Brian Miller</td>
<td>Planned 2019</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>Burnley FC, Turf Moor, Burnley, Lancashire</td>
<td>Club Stadium</td>
<td>Sculptor TBC</td>
<td>Design TBC</td>
<td>1979–1989</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49 Valery Lobanovsky</td>
<td>05/11/2003</td>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>FC Dynamo Kyiv, Hrushevskoho, Kyiv</td>
<td>Club Stadium</td>
<td>Vladimir Filatov</td>
<td>Posed—Sitting</td>
<td>1969–2001</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 Valery Lobanovsky</td>
<td>Est'd 2003</td>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>FC Dynamo Kyiv, Baikove Cemetery, Kyiv</td>
<td>Cemetery</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Posed—Standing</td>
<td>1969–2001</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Subjects: * Figure is part of statue group also containing players.
Location: † From 2002–12 sited at China's Green Island Forest Park training complex. Moved to the current location in 2012.
‡ From 2002–09 sited in Torsby tourist office.
Unveiling: § original statue by sculptor Ian Brennan unveiled on 17th March, 2007, removed 5 days later; replacement statue by sculptor Sean Hedges-Quinn unveiled 22nd March, 2008.
Statues honoring coaches and managers are not unique to Association football, but are less common in other sports, and represent unexplored territory in terms of scholarly research. It would be a fallacy to group these monuments with those of players and extrapolate an identical set of motivations and interpretations. The rarity of the truly successful manager confers a certain mythical quality upon those who consistently triumph. Despite saturation media coverage, fans can still only guess at exactly what makes a manager successful. As historian Neil Carter notes, managers have become “public faces of their clubs that somehow possess mystical powers.”

Whereas a player statue will preserve the memory of known, visible football skills and a particular style of play, a manager's statue and interpretative materials play a greater role in creating and shaping fans' perceptions of the subject.

Furthermore, a manager's scope for achieving the respect or affection that leads to a statue is limited in comparison to a player by the singular nature of his job. You can be a great player in a poor team, but it is assumed that a great manager would not construct a poor team. A player might endear himself to the fans for his rugged determination or entertainment value, regardless of team success, whereas a manager is judged primarily by results. With a very limited number of trophies and promotion slots available every season, it is hard for a manager to achieve immortality or even popularity. Likewise, the role of manager is almost always an individual one, and even given the high turnover, far fewer will be judged as successful compared to players. Players can also gain both parochial and wider respect as storied internationals while also representing their club, whereas the national team manager role usually rules out concurrent club duties—so international recognition, unless it brings a trophy, is less likely to boost a manager's likelihood of receiving a statue than a player's.

Yet despite these apparent disadvantages, the ratio of forty-seven manager statues to 276 of players exceeds the numerical balance of one manager to a team of eleven players (let alone a squad), suggesting that managers are actually slightly more likely to be commemorated in bronze. One explanation is the unique impact a manager is perceived to have. As football historian Dave Russell stresses, “As any fan is aware, managers can literally make, re-make or break a club.” Thus, while the requirement of tangible success may make a manager less likely to be depicted, it could be that managers' greater power and influence make them more likely than any one player to be credited as the architect of such success. When selecting a subject for a club's first statue, a manager identified with a period of sustained success may be the most obvious candidate.

This rationale is supported by manager statue subjects both in the UK and across the world, almost all of whom could be classed as “club builders,” not just responsible for their club's biggest trophy hauls, but also for elevating them beyond their traditional expectations. Success is, of course, relative to a club's previous size and stature within the game—so a statue might recognize anything from establishing a club as a European power to a lengthy spell punching above their weight in the lower divisions. While players honored with statues often featured in their club's finest hours, there are some (e.g. Preston North End FC's Sir Tom Finney, or Joe Shaw of Sheffield United FC) who won little, or represented their club in less successful eras, but gained respect and
affection for their skills and their loyalty. For a manager, lack of team success leads to the sack, not a statue.

Fifty percent of player statues are sited at their club’s stadium or museum/hall of fame. However, this percentage rises to 66 percent for managers. The manager is a distinctively club-centric figurehead, embedded in the hearts of his club’s fans, but less likely to be loved by the wider public (and hence less likely to receive a civic-sited statue). This perhaps explains why, though several footballers have multiple statues (typically both at their former club and in their hometown), this is very unusual for managers. Indeed, in all but one instance it is limited to those who have achieved success with the national team. Only one manager has both civic and stadium statues: Brian Clough has been honored by his home town of Middlesbrough, and in both Nottingham and Derby, where his greatest managerial achievements were performed.

Few English managers have experienced as much success, certainly relative to their club’s resources, or projected their personality quite so forcefully, as Brian Clough. As well as their varying location types, Clough’s statues have very different funding profiles and designs, including one of Clough as a player—however, in depicting the same subject, these monuments offer a unique case study of the differing ways in which managers and players are commemorated. We compare Clough’s statues, using a detailed inspection of each monument, combined with interviews with the project organizers and sculptors, to show how a statue’s funding, design, and location profiles are interrelated and have interacted with the fact that Clough’s primary fame is as a manager. Most critically, we examine the tension between the statue as a biography of the subject as opposed to one of the society that built it, noting how the design and interpretative materials (e.g., plaque or plinth inscriptions) of each Clough statue balances these competing narratives.

Brian Clough

Brian Howard Clough was born in Middlesbrough on March 21, 1935, the son of a sugar boiler at the local sweet factory. Football played a large part in the Clough household, with Brian, the fifth of eight children, later recalling that “I used to practice all the time, and soon I knew I was better than the others.” Clough progressed through local football into the reserves at Middlesbrough FC, making his first-team debut in 1955. He was a phenomenally successful player, a fact sometimes forgotten due to his later managerial success. Clough still holds the record for the least appearances made to score 250 English Football League goals, ending with 251 in 274 matches. However, he was not always popular in the dressing room, due to his blunt speaking and penchant for criticising team-mates, particularly hapless defenders whom he saw as squandering leads he had created. His autobiography relates a dispute over his selfish play with a fellow player and the manager. Clough’s simple explanation was that he was the better finisher—and, over 30 years on, he prints his scoring record to back up his point.

Most of Clough’s goals were scored for Middlesbrough, then a second-tier side in the English Football League, but in 1961 he moved to Middlesbrough’s local rivals
Sunderland FC. Clough recalled that, unsurprisingly given the deep-seated nature of local football allegiances and rivalries, “they didn't like it in Middlesbrough. They called me a traitor.” Biographer Jonathan Wilson notes that Clough seems ambivalent about his time at Middlesbrough, preferring Sunderland, possibly because they had a stronger defense to back up his goals. Clough believed that his popularity at Sunderland was proved in spectacular fashion when . . . more than 31,000 fans packed the ground” for his testimonial match. The match was necessary because he had sustained a severe knee injury on a frozen pitch on Boxing Day 1962 that effectively ended his career.

After an aborted comeback, he managed Sunderland’s youth team, moving on in 1965 to take charge of Hartlepool United FC. He was assisted by Peter Taylor, a friend from his playing days. As the Board refused to pay two managers, Taylor had to be employed as physio, despite having no appropriate qualifications. Clough and Taylor dramatically enhanced the fortunes of a traditionally struggling club, but in 1968 they moved on to Second Division Derby County FC, Clough having fallen out with the Hartlepools’ chairman, Ernie Ord, the first of several such disputes in his career.

Clough and Taylor rebuilt the Derby team, using occasionally unorthodox methods to negotiate transfers. On one occasion, Clough insisted on staying at the house of Archie Gemmill, a player he hoped to recruit, until he had received an answer. The positive response was secured over breakfast the next morning.

Success (Second Division Champions 1969, Football League Champions for the first time in the club’s history in 1972) could not mask a deteriorating relationship with the Derby Board. Clough believed Sam Longson, the Derby chairman, resented his growing profile and popularity, which had resulted from frequent outspoken appearances as a TV pundit and on chat shows. Clough and Taylor resigned in October 1973, the result of a power struggle at the club. Clough later regretted his decision to resign, in both sacrificing an opportunity to manage what he saw as a great team, and the lack of any compensation. He later said: “Never resign. If you think of it, sleep on it. And if you are of the same mind the next morning, go back to bed.” The local public reaction to his resignation was enormous, with both fans and players backing Clough. Fans demanded his reinstatement, but the Board held firm.

Clough and Taylor’s next stop was Brighton and Hove Albion FC, an appointment which essentially proved to be marking time, with disappointing results. Then, in the summer of 1974, Clough was surprisingly appointed Leeds United FC manager. Leeds had become one of the most successful clubs in the country under the aforementioned Don Revie, who grew up a short walk from Clough in Middlesbrough and had now left to manage England. Clough had criticized what he saw as Leeds’ dirty tactics and cynicism in his role as a TV pundit, making him extremely unpopular with the Leeds players, who had been part of what Revie saw as his “family.” Revie’s teams were renowned for their tendency to, as Wilson puts it, “harangue referees,” and play a cynical style of football when necessary, whereas Clough’s teams were always acknowledged as “almost uniquely respectful to referees,” and were renowned for a fluent, clean brand of passing football. Clough was effectively forced out of Leeds by dressing room rebellion after a sensationally short 44-day managerial reign. However,
a payoff of almost £100,000 showed he had learned his lesson about resigning, and gave him financial independence—allowing him to "never fear the sack again."26

Nottingham Forest FC appointed Clough as manager in January 1975, prompting him to say "Forest have one thing going for them right now—me!"27 Perhaps significantly, success arrived only after Clough persuaded Taylor to join him in the summer of 1976. Promotion followed in 1977, then Forest became Football League Champions in 1978. Even more remarkably, the European Champion Clubs' Cup, considered by many the greatest prize in club football, and an almost impossible target for a historically mid-ranking provincial club such as Forest, was won in successive years—1979 and 1980. The greatest measure of this achievement is a list of all the sides who have won this competition (renamed the UEFA Champions League in 1992) more than once: Real Madrid, Milan, Bayern München, Barcelona, Liverpool, Ajax, Internazionale, Manchester United, Juventus, Benfica, Porto, and Nottingham Forest. This is a roll-call of eleven giants, perpetual national champions or challengers, the greatest teams in European football history—alongside Forest, who, in 2017, play in the second level of English football, have won just one Football League championship (under Clough) and have not featured in the top division this century.

Taylor left in 1982, and although, as Clough points out, it would be difficult to describe the years that followed as failure, Forest never reached the same heights again.28 His stylish young teams (starring son Nigel) rarely threatened more than upper-mid-table finishes and achieved just a pair of Football League Cup triumphs (1989 and 1990). Clough's record was better with Taylor than without him. Clough credits Taylor with keeping the dressing-room atmosphere relaxed and light-hearted, and finding superb players, but complains that Taylor shied away from confrontation with authority. In 1983 Clough and Taylor fell out over a transfer between Forest and Derby, whom Taylor then managed, and afterwards spoke "just a few, brief words on the telephone" until Taylor's death in 1990.29 Clough's regret over this rift is shown in his dedication of his autobiography to Taylor.

Clough's public profile remained high in the 1980s, due to numerous media appearances, occasional incidents such as striking a pitch invader, and his failure to become England manager (having been interviewed but not selected in 1977, he was passed over in favor of Bobby Robson in 1982), a snub which only enhanced his reputation as an anti-establishment figure, too hot for those in authority to handle. There were also allegations of illegal payments surrounding transfer deals.30 Wilson notes that Clough had a complex relationship with money, and that "for him, what was right and what was legal were not necessarily the same thing."31

By the early 1990s a decline in Clough's health, caused by an ongoing battle with alcoholism, saw him become increasingly disengaged from his day-to-day managerial role, reportedly only showing up on a Friday morning and a Saturday afternoon—and his team's performance slump. Clough resigned from a relegated Forest in 1993, and cut ties with football almost completely. His health worsened throughout the subsequent years to the point where allegations over illegal payments were not pursued, and eventually he had a liver transplant in January 2003.32 He died from stomach cancer on September 20, 2004, aged sixty-nine.33
Wilson suggests that Clough’s enduring popularity, as shown by the widespread tributes on his death, is partly because he is seen as a man who represents an era when success could be achieved without overwhelming financial superiority, and with style, a term which could be said to represent both the attractive football of his teams and their respect for officials. Clough was an intriguing character in many ways. He spoke his mind in a world renowned for limiting interviews to the blandest of platitudes. His left-wing political beliefs were never hidden, although his opinion that “a woman’s job is to be there . . . if she is going to have children, she has to look after them,” and what Wilson described as his “underlying homophobia” and “characteristic suspicion of foreigners”—while unremarkable at the time—would undoubtedly be frowned upon today by much of society, let alone within socialist circles. He was asked to stand as a Labour candidate for Richmond in 1964, stood on the picket lines with miners during the strike of 1984–85, and refused to give interviews to a local paper that had sacked striking journalists. Along with his straight talking, these beliefs and actions cemented his popularity with the general populace.

Clough’s death triggered what historian David Russell describes as the “absolutely clear grammar of football grieving,” a repertoire of commemorative practices for which Russell identifies clear roots in the death of Bill Shankly in 1981—and a transition to maturity through the Hillsborough disaster (1989) and the death of former England and West Ham captain Bobby Moore (1993)—while acknowledging that it represents “part of a much wider shift in the nation’s emotional ecology.” These practices include the wearing of black armbands by players, minute’s silences (and, increasingly, applauses), fans spontaneously building shrines composed of flowers, club scarves and shirts at stadiums, public memorial services, chants at matches, and the establishment of permanent memorials, both via existing objects (e.g., stadium, stand, or road-naming) and the erection of monuments or statues. Three Brian Clough statues were erected within 6 years of his death.

Albert Park, Middlesbrough, unveiled May 16, 2007

Middlesbrough’s Clough monument typifies the hometown hero football statue, with political involvement and public money smoothing the project’s progress, and a civic as opposed to stadium location being chosen. Planning began just days after Clough’s death, with local Labour Party Councillor John McPartland, a self-proclaimed fan of Clough, gathering together a statue organizing committee consisting of other local politicians, representatives from Middlesbrough FC and the local media. McPartland feels that, despite his departure to Sunderland, Clough “had never lost the affection of the Middlesbrough people”: when Clough died, erecting a statue was McPartland’s immediate thought. Though part-funded by Heritage Lottery fund money, half of the statue’s £65,000 cost was met through fund-raising activities, including a sponsored bungee jump from, and walk across, the top of the Middlesbrough Transporter Bridge, as well as the sale of limited edition statue maquettes.

As a result of the project’s public funding and local authority involvement, the sculptor was chosen via an open competition as opposed to direct commission. The
winner was Vivien Mallock, a nationally renowned sculptor with previous royal and military memorial commissions. Her design, which has Clough jogging with football boots slung over his shoulder (Figure 4.1), was based upon a committee brief that Clough should be captured not in his managerial pomp but in his youth, as a Middlesbrough player, making his daily stroll to training across Albert Park, a public open space chosen to host the statue.42

Brian Clough’s widow Barbara unveiled the statue in May 2007. Plaque inscriptions reference Clough as a Middlesbrough footballer, but say nothing of his greater fame as a manager:

Brian Clough 1935–2004 Middlesbrough footballer / This statue was unveiled on 16 May 2007 by Mrs. Barbara Clough. Sculptor—Vivien Mallock. / This statue was funded by a public appeal. Supported by the National Lottery through the Heritage Lottery Fund.

McPartland was keen that the statue was not just publicly located but also accessible and interactive, “a statue that people could go up to, a bit like the one of Eusebio at

Figure 4.1 Brian Clough statue, Albert Park, Middlesbrough. Photo by John Wilson ©.
Benfica," hence the statue was placed upon a low rectangular plinth. An unintended consequence was subsequent wear and tear to the bronze of Clough’s right leg—ironically the same skeletal position as the cruciate injury that curtailed his playing career—caused by children hanging from it as their parents posed alongside Clough. This was remedied in 2009 by reworking the plinth shape to support the back leg.

Alongside the statue project, the Council promoted Clough’s links with his hometown in a heritage tourism drive, developing a Clough Trail for visitors.

**Old Market Square, Nottingham, unveiled November 6, 2008**

As with the Middlesbrough statue project, Nottingham’s Clough statue arose from a coalition of civic authorities and the public. However, whereas local authority connections and official funding were the driving force in Middlesbrough, Nottingham’s statue was predominantly a fan campaign. The project began in 2005, led by a small group of Nottingham Forest fans, including the instigators of the brianclough.com tribute website (established in 2000), and members of the Forest Supporters Club. Campaign chairman Paul Ellis recounts that, while the football club were supportive, “Forest weren’t wanting to do anything at the ground due to planned ground redevelopments.” Likewise, Nottingham City Council were co-operative, offering organizational support and help with financial administration, but were happy for supporters to take the lead. They also provided a city center site, which was critical for Ellis, given his determination that Clough’s legacy to the city as opposed to just the football club should be celebrated:

> It’s got to be clear, we always said it wasn’t about his exploits at Forest, but what he did for Nottingham. Remember he raised the profile of Nottingham hugely, by generating the interest in the football club worldwide. So that’s why it’s not at the ground . . . it wasn’t about Forest, it was about Brian Clough and Nottingham. The city council embraced that, obviously they would, it’s a place for people when they visit to look at.

A combination of appeals, events and merchandise raised £69,000 in just eighteen months, with the council and the football club donating £5,000 each as the target was approached. This was both a very successful fundraising mission—statue projects independent of a football club’s largesse typically have a far lengthier gestation period—and an imaginative one, featuring events such as a Clough Aid concert, alongside sales of replicas of Clough’s trademark green sweaters, badges, and banners bearing famous Clough quotes.

Sculptor Les Johnson, chosen through an open competition, was given a clear design brief, based on a flashbulb memory of Clough, alongside an emphasis on capturing the relationship between Clough and the people. Johnson recalls that:

> The supporters who came up with an idea of how they wanted the pose to be, they were the ones who suggested that. There are images of him after one of the
important games coming up to the crowd of supporters in the stands and doing that gesture, hands clasped above his head saluting the fans for their support. It was a two-way thing, now in the context where we put him in Nottingham, because he was such a well-known and liked figure in Nottingham he’s saluting Nottingham, that gesture is appropriate for his public position in Nottingham as well as being relevant to the actual game of football. He was saluting the fans and he was also saluting Nottingham itself.\textsuperscript{49}

Clough’s statue (Figure 4.2), unveiled to great fanfare in November 2008, is set on a low, broad plinth that allows easy access for passers-by and provides a place to sit.\textsuperscript{50}

Around the base of the statue, inlaid strips of bronze are inscribed with three of Clough’s most famous quips—“one-liners” that, while recognizable to any of his fans, the Nottingham public, or indeed anyone with a passing interest in English football in the 1970s and 1980s, would probably mystify visitors given the lack of supporting interpretive material:

If God had wanted us to play football in the clouds, he’d have put grass up there. / We talk about it for 20 minutes and then we decide I was right. / I wouldn’t say I was the best manager in the business. But I was in the top one.

\textbf{Figure 4.2} Brian Clough statue, Old Market Square, Nottingham. Photo by Sarah Gardner ©.
The plinth inscription is limited to "Brian Clough OBE," eschewing any supporting information about his career successes. The only other plaque, placed in the pavement ten yards from the statue, notes that this corner of the Market Square is Nottingham's "Speaker's Corner," an appropriate home for the outspoken master manager. In February 2017, a single Forest fan launched an online petition to campaign for the statue to be moved to Forest's stadium, on the basis that it might suffer damage during public gatherings in the square, and from inebriated revellers, but this attracted very little support.51

**Pride Park, Derby County FC, unveiled August 28, 2010**

Clough's third statue shares the plinth with his long-time co-manager Peter Taylor. In 2010 Derby County honored the pair who brought them their first League Championship with a large bronze sculpture sited outside their Pride Park stadium.52 The genesis of this monument was very different from that of the Clough statues in Middlesbrough and Nottingham. Though it also has roots in fan activism, it can best be described as a football-club-organized and commercially-funded artwork. Derby supporters group The Rams Trust had been campaigning for a statue of Steve Bloomer, Derby's greatest goal scorer, and had engaged prolific sports sculptor Andy Edwards.53 However they were well short of the required funding, with Bloomer's status as a sepia-tinged figure from the dawn of the professional game, as opposed to a hero from living memory, probably reducing fan donations. Likewise, successive owners had shown little interest in the project as a club-funded venture until Derby County was bought by an American consortium in January 2008.54 Whether due to the new CEO Tom Glick's experience in sports franchise ownership in the United States, which included 14 years in the baseball industry where monuments to storied players are common, or to court popularity with fans suspicious of new foreign owners, the Bloomer project was soon progressed via commercial and club funding, with a Clough and Taylor statue also promised.55

After a fans' petition reminded them of this pledge, the club raised funds, largely through commercial sponsorship, to pay for a statue. Set on a tall cylindrical plinth (Figure 4.3), it was unveiled in August 2010 in a small plaza at the main approach to Pride Park stadium.56 Pride Park, now the iPro Stadium, is a typical modern arena built in 1997 on derelict industrial land, surrounded by a new-build retail park, office developments and vacant plots: very different to the cramped and homely Baseball Ground where Clough and Taylor worked their magic.

Andy Edwards, hired on the basis of his work on the Bloomer project, sculpted the Clough and Taylor of 1972, triumphantly holding the League Championship trophy. Edwards found the experience of working with Derby County's owners and the statue committee "refreshing," in that, unlike a competitive tender scenario, he was able to gradually develop and reshape the design.57 He opines that:

They enabled me to do things the right way . . . Derby commissioned a period of research where I made, I think it was seven different maquettes, both families and committees were involved in developing those. They hired the artist first, and then looked at the design. It changed and evolved and because of that I think the
monument is richer because it’s not one person’s version or anything, it’s a proper team effort.\textsuperscript{58}

Edwards recalls that the design was originally going to have Clough and Taylor sat on a bench so that people could sit with them, a suggestion of son Nigel, and that the eventual design was meant as a sly nod to both classicism and 1970s pop culture: “by putting them on as high a pedestal as possible, they would look like Roman emperors, but they’ve got their arms around each other like Morecambe and Wise when you go round the back!”\textsuperscript{59}

A statue plinth inscription references the plaza in which it is set and the link that Derby sought to make between the statue, Clough and Taylor’s partnership, and

\textbf{Figure 4.3} Brian Clough and Peter Taylor statue, Pride Park, Derby. Photo by Christopher Stride ©.
wider societal themes: “*UNITY PLAZA* *HARMONY INTEGRITY UNITY SOLIDARITY VICTORY*” A descriptive plaque also references these ideas, but offers a greater description of Clough’s (and Taylor’s) careers than the Nottingham or Middlesbrough statues’ interpretative materials:

Brian Howard Clough OBE (21 March 1935–20 September 2004) & Peter Thomas Taylor (2 July 1928–4 October 1990). Clough and Taylor formed one of the most charismatic and successful partnerships in English football history. While they both experienced management of football clubs as individuals, it was as a partnership they enjoyed their greatest successes in winning two English Championships as well as back-to-back European Cups. By immortalising them in this bronze monument it is intended not only to recognize their many achievements in football, but also to act as a symbol within the community to inspire others. Created by fans, friends and family from inside and outside football in recognition of the difference these men made to our lives, our game and our communities and to celebrate the love and gratitude we will always have for them. 28 August 2010.

Further plaques carry names and messages from sponsors, including several that have adapted famous Clough quotes as marketing slogans: for instance, “Not the best in the business but in the top one: Hytrac Lifts Ltd.” A plinth base inscription adds the nostalgic epithet “for the good times.” Completing the plethora of interpretative and supporting material are a series of circular bronze plates set into paving around the base of the statue, listing the mileage from Pride Park to a variety of national and world stadia. Some of these stadia have links to Clough’s career, such as Hartlepool’s Victoria Park, Middlesbrough’s former ground Ayresome Park, and Nottingham’s City Ground, the latter plaque unsurprisingly having suffered repeated vandalism. Others, though, are simply famous stadia with no obvious link to Clough or Taylor, such as Milan’s San Siro, and Manchester United’s Old Trafford.

The Bronze Brian Clough: Man of the People or the King of Clubs?

Brian Clough’s Nottingham- and Derby-sited statues both incorporate an element of “triumph” design, the Derby statue also linking this to a specific club success, and projecting Clough as an imperial leader via a high plinth. The Nottingham statue is surrounded by Clough quotes that project his brand of brashness, humor, and footballing principles, reinforcing a popular perception of his character resulting from his TV punditry. Its design resembles Liverpool FC’s statue of Bill Shankly, in depicting a manager sharing a celebratory moment with fans.

Conversely the Middlesbrough statue portrays Clough the player. The inscription says nothing about his management career. Whether this statue should be considered a manager statue at all is arguable. We included it in this study given that it is highly
unlikely it would have been constructed if Clough was not a revered manager. Though an exceptional goal scorer for his hometown club, Middlesbrough FC were mired in the second tier of English football at that time. Neither did he display the loyalty that statue subjects typically possess. Prior to the commission of Clough’s civic statue, Middlesbrough FC had unveiled monuments depicting two of their greatest players, Wilf Mannion and George Hardwick, at their Riverside Stadium—but not Clough. Hence, given Clough’s playing record did not inspire a club statue, it is unlikely to have been the driving force behind the subsequent civic honor—Clough’s Middlesbrough statue is effectively a home town honoring the managerial achievements of one of their own, and hence should be considered a manager statue. Furthermore, while depicting him in his playing days, it doesn’t portray him in action or in Middlesbrough kit. The statue is more a reminder of Clough’s young self as opposed to representing his time as a Middlesbrough player.

However, when considering the tension between statues as a biography of the subject as opposed to the society that built them, Clough’s Derby statue stands as the exception. All three statues can be read as an attempt to claim Clough as “belonging” to the host community; however, each community is trying to claim a different Clough. By assessing the creation of each statue, its placement, and what is both revealed and ignored in the design and presentation, it becomes apparent that the Nottingham and Middlesbrough statues share the most obvious commonality, that of Clough as a man of the people, and a nostalgic totem for a bygone era of charismatic, located, local heroes and socialist civic virtues. On the other hand, the Derby statue reflects a modern corporate era, where branding is achieved through proclaiming success and platitudes. Moreover, in the designed projection of these divergent aims, all three statues sidestep awkward truths about the subject.

The placement choices can be considered in terms of locational and designed accessibility. The Nottingham and Middlesbrough statues are sited in popular civic spaces that are frequented by the general public—on public rather than private land. Clough has been placed into the city, and hence positioned as an accessible city hero. The lack of fan or wider public enthusiasm to later move the Nottingham statue to Forest’s stadium reflects a symbiotic relationship between Clough and the city, and a sense that his personality and achievements elevated his stock and the city’s above mere sporting legend. Clough is someone for the city to boast about, not just the football club.

Both the Nottingham and Middlesbrough Clough statues’ low plinths invite public interaction. In Nottingham, this is enhanced by the plinth edge providing seating for weary shoppers. Personal encounters with the Nottingham or Middlesbrough statues will mostly be informal and unplanned, and Clough stands physically among the local populace, rather than towering over them. In not being raised above the people, but capturing the public’s attention at their level, he fits the description given to him by cultural historian and sociologist David Goldblatt, who wrote: “Clough was closer to the foreman than the boss, [he was] a working class patriarch whose rule rested on a mixture of charisma and coercion.” Furthermore, the Nottingham and Middlesbrough statues’ placement among the people reflects Clough’s committed socialism—and the
political beliefs of those behind the statues. Though Clough may have held opinions that do not fit within a modern left-wing consciousness, a statue is not subject to either the same demands for a “warts-and-all” portrayal, or the critical appraisal of content that a written biography receives. The Middlesbrough and Nottingham statues were both aided by local Labour Party-dominated councils no doubt keen to celebrate a left-leaning populist hero in a non-contentious way, and also willing to pass off Clough's occasional contentious comments as “of his time,” or trade them against his active support for left-wing causes.

In comparison, the Derby statue's construction was in part driven by a desire to improve a commercial environment through a striking and relevant piece of public art: this statue contributes to its previously non-descript location as much as the location contributes to the interpretation of the statue. An observer at the opening ceremony, while noting that the new Derby directors “know probably a lot more than most supporters about the history of the football club,” also recalled that, “one of the directors said to me ‘let’s not forget amid all this that this doubles the real estate value of the land around it.’” And, while it does feature adjacent seating, the statue itself is on a very high plinth. With the stadium being in an out-of-town business district, there is little non-matchday footfall. The statue is part of the stadium, not part of the city; Clough and Taylor are conquering leaders, standing above, not among the fans.

This contrast is also found in the statue designs and inscriptions. In Middlesbrough, Clough is sculpted as a footballer of his era. This is apparent in his dress, with boots casually slung over his shoulder, and in the statue's placement. The local player jogging to training through a public park, carrying his own boots, is a direct contrast to the stereotypical modern footballer, culturally and economically dislocated from the community he represents and driving to training from a gated suburb in an expensive car. Hence this design has both nostalgic and political connotations by suggesting a preference not so much for Clough as a player, nor the Middlesbrough team of the 1950s, but more for an era when footballers were local, rooted, working-class heroes, and football was a working-class sport—or even a time when working-class identity itself, the bedrock of the Labour movement, was stronger, and society more cohesive.

In Nottingham, Clough is sculpted celebrating among the fans in an informal manner, but with a gesture that longstanding fans will recognize as typical of the subject. This design is multivalent, i.e. it offers multiple interpretations dependent on the viewer and their experiences. To the supporters who witnessed the successes of Clough's era at Forest, feelings of triumphalism, nostalgic reminiscence, and their sense of worth as a loyal fan are all evoked, and their ability to decode the statue also enhances their claim in sharing Clough's success. However, the statue abstracts this moment of postmatch celebration from its historical and locational contexts. To other passers-by without this deep knowledge of Clough, the image is simply of a warm, open figure, greeting fans. And to those who are not devoted Forest fans but who remember Clough's support for striking miners and journalists as well as his immense local popularity, Clough's gesture represents a man of the people celebrating with the people; a civic leader as much as a football manager. As with the Middlesbrough statue, this
design says nothing of Clough’s managerial achievements, instead placing personality and interaction at the forefront.

Conversely, the Derby statue offers a more formal portrayal of triumph. Clough and Taylor are posed with the trophy in a style appropriate for a photocall or civic reception, rather than displaying great emotion or sharing the moment with fans. The presence of the large Football League Championship trophy provides an alternative focus. To the occasional fan and even the Derby County loyalist this image says as much about Derby’s achievement in capturing the league title as the managers who led the campaign.

Finally, the focus of each statue’s interpretative materials correlates with the themes foregrounded by their design and placement. When interpreting the Middlesbrough and Nottingham inscriptions, what is omitted is as notable as what is included: paradoxically while you can physically interact with both statues, the viewer is distanced from the reason for the subject’s commemoration, with neither inscription making specific reference to Clough’s managerial success. Full understanding therefore requires subsequent research or prior knowledge.

The Middlesbrough plaque simply identifies Clough as a Middlesbrough footballer. This could be read as an attempt to claim Clough’s legacy for his hometown, yet it says nothing of his achievements as a Middlesbrough footballer either. Of course, given that Clough left Middlesbrough of his own volition, there is an inherent tension in any narrative detailing this connection. In Nottingham, the principal inscriptions are famous Clough quotes, supplemented only by his name and a national honor (OBE). The effect of this is twofold. First, it projects Clough’s charismatic personality ahead of his football-related achievements, hinting at how it was Clough’s personality that raised his popularity and renown beyond that of a mere football manager. Second, the lack of interpretative material positions Clough as needing no introduction in Nottingham. Like the design, it makes statue interpretation dependent on prior knowledge, boosting a sense of attachment to the statue and subject for those who remember Clough’s most famous sayings and deeds, or who have been brought up on tales of them.

The Derby statue is also a deeply parochial monument, yet promotes its environment through less subtle devices. As well as the trophy-hefting statue design, the inscription highlights Clough and Taylor’s successes, but fails to mention that one of the pair’s Football League triumphs and both European Cup wins occurred at local rivals Nottingham Forest. A casual fan or passer-by might attribute these later triumphs to Derby, though paradoxically this statue is the least likely to be visited by non-fans. The plaques around the base of the statue are also designed to boost Derby’s prestige by association, namechecking stadia of world famous clubs that Derby have rarely competed with, alongside those connected to Clough and Taylor’s story.

The large “UNITY” engraving on the plinth is accompanied by comments on the principal inscription linking the Clough and Taylor partnership to this wider theme.

However, the Clough and Taylor story was not just one of unity, indeed they eventually split and never reconciled. The qualities and attributes promoted on the plinth are inarguably positive, but carry little personal meaning. To a viewer who
knows this broader history of the Clough–Taylor relationship, they might feel more like platitudinous branding. Given the broader “unity” theme it is ironic that the statue itself also offers ammunition for the Forest–Derby rivalry. The website promoting the Nottingham statue, in a section relating to the Derby monument, attempts to claim a moral victory for Forest fans by detailing the comparative statue funding sources, and stating that the Nottingham monument was erected first, their links to Clough’s family, and that Derby have installed a plaque mentioning their rival’s stadium:

The eventual unveiling came nearly 2 years after Nottingham’s bronze statue was unveiled by Barbara Clough, accompanied by members of her family . . . The £125,000 scheme was funded through business sponsorship, unlike the previous statue projects in Middlesbrough and Nottingham, where fans were inspired to launch successful fund-raising campaigns involving a range of special events, including a gala dinner in Nottingham attended by Mrs Clough and her family . . . Placed around the base of the statue are a number of compass points with special connections to Cloughie. One of them is Nottingham Forest’s City Ground.62

The obvious extrapolation from this is that Forest fans are more loyal, generous, proactive, and have closer links to Clough.

The Derby statue is essentially an attempt to brand a stadium precinct and a football club. Through its development and funding process, its placement in a modern landscaped plaza within a featureless business district, corporate sponsorship plaques (especially those that recycle Clough quotes for the purposes of advertising), and on-message epithets, it attempts to relocate Clough and Taylor in a celebration of the new, the modern, the commercial, and the PR-savvy. In this way, it is typical of many stadium statues. On the other hand, the Nottingham and Middlesbrough statues portray Clough through his personality, politics, and civic links, and make less of an overt claim on Clough’s successes.

Football Manager Statues: A Passing Phenomenon or a Growing Trend?

Brian Clough’s statues commemorate an English manager from the 1970s and 1980s, an era that Carter suggests as the zenith of the English club football manager’s powers.63 Since the early 1990s, English football’s increased income and commercialism has dramatically changed almost every element of the game, with the manager’s role no exception. With the disparity between top-tier and lower-tier incomes ever increasing, the need for clubs to succeed and to stay successful has likewise increased, and ever greater resources are poured into achieving success. A top-level manager can now call upon a greater range of specialist coaches and assistants than ever before, and his role in transfer dealings has largely been surrendered or transferred to a coterie of analysts and a director of football. His role now more closely resembles the European model of a head coach, who picks the team, coordinates his coaching staff, and attempts to
motivate the players. Since Clough’s era the typical profile and perceived behavior of managers has changed, with the majority of English Premier League managers now from overseas, and coaching qualifications mandatory at all levels. Sensitivity has replaced rage as the default setting for motivating players.

We might expect the manager’s decreasing influence to mitigate their future immortality. However, it is perceived influence that determines whether a manager is honored, and there is no suggestion that either fans or club directors feel the manager’s importance is diminished, even if the scope of their day-to-day role has. The frequent calls for a manager’s head, and the resultant perennial “hiring and firing” that occurs, often at the cost of paying up a substantial contract, indicates that having the right manager is still considered a critical ingredient for success: while managers carry the can for failure, they also take the plaudits when their team succeeds. Furthermore, today’s manager is ever more visible, with their decisions monitored and debated by rolling sports news coverage, and their utterances in pre- and postmatch press conferences pored over and dissected. Managers play a central role in modern football’s “soap opera” and fans are exposed to their manager’s strengths, weaknesses, and personality traits. All of these factors enhance the prospects of manager statues, but possibly reduce the extent to which a statue will shape a contemporary fan’s opinion of a manager. However, with the predilection for football statues generally showing no sign of abating (twenty-one were erected around the world in 2016), the likelihood is that there will be many more bosses in bronze erected outside stadia in the future.

Notes

1 Ekholm, “Ceramic Figurines and the Mesoamerican Ballgame.”
2 Figurative statues portray a lifelike representation of a human subject. They are at least close to life-size and depict the body; as opposed to statuettes or figurines, which are small enough to be easily lifted, or busts, which depict just head and shoulders.
3 Starting in January 2011, the first and second authors constructed a database of existing and planned statues of football players, managers, and administrators around the world. The database is regularly updated, accurate to the best of our knowledge, and publicly available at: http://www.sportingstatues.com [accessed March 19, 2018].
4 Runia, “Burying the Dead,” 313.
5 Dupre, Monuments: America’s History, 7.
7 Examples include Dragan Mance, the Partizan Belgrade striker killed in a car crash in 1985, whose statue stands by his grave at Novo Groblje, Belgrade.
8 Funk and James, “Consumer Loyalty.”
9 Stride, Wilson, and Thomas, “Modeling Stadium Statue Subject Choice.”
11 Manthorpe, “Public Art.”
12 For instance, in the UK, there are no civic (as opposed to stadium-sited) figurative
monuments to specific footballers, or indeed any sportsmen or women, in central
London, Manchester, or Birmingham; whereas Barrow-in-Furness, Dudley, Hawick,
and Merthyr Tydfil all boast multiple sports statues.
15 Clough, *Clough*, 15.
16 Clough, *Clough*, 15.
17 Wilson, *Brian Clough*, 79.
19 Clough, *Clough*, 61.
20 Clough, *Clough*, 147; Clough, *Walking on Water*.
21 Clough, *Clough*, 87.
22 Clough, *Clough*, 114.
23 Gerald Mortimer, “Gerald Mortimer recalls resignation of Brian Clough, Peter Taylor,”
*Derby Telegraph*, October 19, 2013: http://www.derbytelegraph.co.uk/Gerald-
Mortimer-recalls-resignation-Brian-Clough/story-19941510-detail/story.html
[accessed: March 7, 2007; no longer accessible].
24 Clough, *Clough*, 137.
26 Clough, *Clough*, 154.
27 Clough, *Clough*, 155.
28 Clough, *Clough*, 224.
29 Clough, *Clough*, 265.
30 Henry Winter, “Clough wanted cash ‘bung,’ Sugar claims,” *The Independent*, June 11,
1993: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/clough-wanted-cash-bung-sugar-claims-
1490823.html [accessed: March 19, 2018].
32 Graham Tibbetts, “Brian Clough has 10-hour liver swap operation,” *The Daily Telegraph
Online*, January 20, 2003: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1419424/Brian-
Clough-has-10-hour-liver-swap-operation.html [accessed: March 19, 2018]; Mihir Bose,
“Parry puzzled by Clough ‘bungs,’” *The Daily Telegraph Online*, September 23, 2004:
http://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/football/2387218/Parry-puzzled-by-Clough-bungs.
html [accessed: March 19, 2018].
hi/football/3673568.stm [accessed: March 19, 2018].
34 Goldblatt, *The Ball is Round*, 563.
35 Clough, *Clough*, 13; Wilson, *Brian Clough*, 182, 455.
leftlion.co.uk/articles.cfm/title/evening-post-strikers-reunite-30-years-on/id/2466
[accessed: March 19, 2018].
38 For example, Brian Clough’s death was marked by flowers laid and scarves tied outside
both Derby County’s and Nottingham Forest’s stadiums, a memorial service held at
Derby’s Pride Park, the naming of the main road between Derby and Nottingham
(the A52) as “Brian Clough Way,” a Nottingham tram named after Clough, and the
inauguration of the Brian Clough Trophy, which Derby County and Nottingham Forest compete for when they meet in competitive action.


40 John McPartland, conversation with Christopher Stride, July 2011.


42 Vivian Mallock, conversation with Christopher Stride, November 2011.

43 John McPartland, conversation with Christopher Stride, July 2011.


46 Paul Ellis, conversation with Christopher Stride, June 2011.

47 Paul Ellis, conversation with Christopher Stride, June 2011.


49 Les Johnson, conversation with Christopher Stride, April 2012.


53 Paul Mortimer, conversation with Christopher Stride, July 2011.

54 Paul Mortimer, conversation with Christopher Stride, July 2011; Andy Edwards, conversation with Christopher Stride, July 2011.

55 Paul Mortimer, conversation with Christopher Stride, July 2011. For example, there are over 250 baseball player statues in situ across North America.


57 Andy Edwards, conversation with Christopher Stride, July 2011.
58 Andy Edwards, conversation with Christopher Stride, July 2011.
59 Andy Edwards, conversation with Christopher Stride, July 2011.
60 Goldblatt, *The Ball is Round*, 563.
61 Wilson, *Brian Clough*.
65 Richards, “Being the Boss,” 40.