'Abbud, Ibrahim, 198 'Alawi, Ahmed, 159 'Allam, 'Fouad, 48 'Assal, Fathiya, 165 'udu al-muaid (supporter member stage), 69 'udu al-multazim (committed member stage), 69 'udu al-muntassib (upstanding brother stage), 69 'Umaal Taraheel (migrant workers), 80 Ababa, Addis, 260 abbans (clan-based credit systems), 231 Abdel-Fadil, Mahmoud, 32 Abgal subclan, 223 Abu-Rawash, Wagih Abdelraziq, 167, 173 ahali. See non-government (ahali) Mosques Ahl al-Sunna Wal Jama'a (People of the Sunna and the Community), 257 Ahmad, 'Abd Allah, 185 Ahmad, Majdi Mahjoub Mohammad, xviii, 17 AIAI. See al-Ittihad al-Islamic (AIAI) Aideed, General, 256, 259 Aidid subclan, 223 al-'Eryan, 'Issam, 53, 61, 171 al-Atabani, Ghazi Salih al-Dein, 214 Al-Ayyam newspaper, 122 al-Banna, Hassan, 62 Al-Baraka Group, 46 Al-Baraka Investment and Development Company, 110 al-Baraka Islamic bank, 109 Al-Barakaat transfer agency, 128–129, 131, 136 al-Bashir regime. See also Sudan authoritarianism decreasing by, 205–207 coup by, 178	struggle for political legitimacy by, 215 uprising in 2018 against, 208–211 Wanderers movement, 214–215 al-Fadil, Abd, 42 al-Faisal, Muhammad, 110, 111 al-Ghazali, Abd al-hamid, 45, 47 al-Ghazzali, Shaykh Mohammad, 44 al-Haj, Ali, 123 al-Hassan, Sabir Muhammad, 185 al-Hudaybi, Hassan, 44 Ali, Jabir Mohammed, 156 Ali, Magdi Mahmoud, 24–25 Ali, Mohamed, 269 al-Ittihad al-Islami (AIAI) as political force, 259 Ethiopia and, 257, 259 hawwalat and, 136 history of, 257–258 recruitment, 258–259 seen as terrorists, 255 state building and, 245, 246 UIC association with, 256 al-Jabel, Waled, 185 al-Jama'a al-Islamiyya. See Islamic Group (Egypt) al-Kamil, Shaykh Salih, 109 Alliance for Restoration of Peace and Counter Terrorism, 260 al-Mahdi, abd al Rahman, 96 al-Mahdi, Sadiq, 126–127 al-Mirghani, Ali, 96 al-Nashra, 290 al-Nimairi, J'afar, 100–102, 107–108, 111, 180, See also Sudan al-proleteriat al-ratha (lumpenproletariate), 275 al-Qaeda network, 128 al-Said, Mustafa, 40 al-Sanussi, Ibrahim, 123
al-Bashir regime. See also Sudan	al-Qaeda network, 128
coup by, 178	al-Sanussi, Ibrahim, 123
legitimacy of, 203	Al-Sayihoon (Wanderers) movement,
pragmatism of, 199	214–215
radical Islamists and, 178–180	al-Sha'rawi, Sheikh, 44, 48

Al-Shamal Bank, 110 al-Shater, Khairat, 53, 65–67, 70, 157–158 al-Sisi regime, 155	labor remittances, 94, 104–105, 106, 108 locations of, 113–114 Muslim Brotherhood and, 94
al-Tilmasani, Omar, 49	Bantus clan, 146
al-Turabi, Hassan. See also Muslim	Barakat, Abdel Hamid, 165–167
Brotherhood (Sudan), See also Sudan	Barre regime. See also Somalia
appointment as Attorney General,	Arab league and, 141
101, 123	clan treatment by, 220, 221, 230-231
Islamic Finance House and, 111	divergent path of Somalia and, 149
military committee member, 123	fall of, 221–222
Muslim Brotherhood leader, 100, 110	legalization of black market,
Amal hawwalat, 136	142–143, 316
Amin, Galal, 29	nationalism policy, 230
Annual World Muslim Camp, 124	opposition to, 221–222, 231–232
Ansar Sufi order, 95–96	weak state and, 139
Arab league, Somalia joining of, 141	Bellin, Eva, 30
Arab-Islamic triangle, 202	Bianchi, Robert, 51
Ashiqqa' Party, 99, See also Democratic	Bin Laden, Osama, 110, 179-180, 191
Unionist Party (DUP)	black market. See illicit economy/black
Association of the People of Assiut, 85	market
austerity programs. See economic austerity	blood feud (Tar), 301
measures	Borama conference, 233
	brain drain due to labor migration, 26
baltagiyya al-'Ataat (enforcers), 303,	
305–306	Capital Market Authority, 158
baltagiyya (local strongmen), 83-84, 88,	casual labor. See informal labor
266, 302–306	Central Bank of Egypt (CBE), 161,
Bank Act of 1982 (Sudan), 111	162–163
banking system, formal	central bank, Sudan, 106
competition with black market, 202	charities, 129, See also Islamic Welfare
deregulation to be more attractive for	Associations (IWAs)
labor remittances, 51	Chevron, 194
economic reform and growth of, 37	chieftainship practice, 229
in Egypt, 30, 31, 161, 162–163	China, 194
in Sudan, 185, 187, 189	chivalrous baltagiyya, 303
loans to currency dealers by, 40	Christians, 291, 299–300, 301, 306
locations of, 113–114	City of Workers, 75
banking system, informal (Egypt). See also	civil society organizations established by
Islamic Banks, See also Islamic	Muslim Brother, 123–125
Investment Companies (IICs)	civil war in Somalia, 221–222, 256
closure of al-Barakat and, 16	civil war in Sudan, 198–200
currency dealers in, 39	clan (Qabiliyat) solidarity, in Imbaba, 84
economy and, 27, 37–38, 40–42, 49–50	clan system in Somalia. See also specific
regulation by social networks, 35	clans
banking system, informal (Somalia)	as variation of state building, 223–226
clans and, 135–137	hawwalat reliance on, 130
impacts of, 130, 319	infighting, 223, 224
importance of, 131	intraclan conflicts, 233
operation of, 135	Islamist movement and, 134, 258–259
reciprocity in, 135–136	labor remittances and, 132, 134–137,
trust networks, 135	144, 254–255
war on terrorist finance and, 133	state building and, 227
banking system, informal (Somaliland),	state disintegration and, 228-232
236, 249	subclans (diya-paying groups), 228, 229
banking system, informal (Sudan)	CNPC, 194

colonialism	dulab (informal construction firms), 267,
Somalia, 229–230	273, 276–281
Somaliland, 138, 229	DUP (Democratic Unionist Party), 95
Sudan, 138–139	
committed member stage ('udu al-	economic austerity measures
multazim), 69	Egypt, 77
Communist Party of Sudan (CPS), 99–100	political developments due to, 15
Comprehensive Peace Agreement	Somalia, 220 Sudan, 180, 185, 203, 204, 206, 209
(Sudan), 199 construction coffee houses, 276, 281–283	economy (Egypt)
construction workers. See also informal	capital flight, 37–38
labor	informal banking system and, 27, 37–38,
dulabs and, 267, 273, 276–281	40–42, 49–50
in Imbaba, 76, 86	informalization of, 32–36, 154
labor migration and, 72-73	internationalization of, 25-28, 37, 314
social organization of, 278–280	Muslim Brotherhood recruitment chan-
structure similar to Islamic Group,	ging due to, 172–175
277–281	reform of, 28–32, 35, 36–38
vulnerability to boom and bust cycles,	economy (Somalia)
271–276	crisis in, 142, 147, 220
Coptic Christians, 291, 299–300, 301, 306	debt, 141
cotton industry, 96	dependence on foreign aid, 140
Council of Defenders of the Revolution	remittances as central component of, 132
(Council of Forty), 178	state disintegration and, 319
CPS (Communist Party of Sudan), 99–100 Crenshaw, Martha, 13, 313	unemployment rates, 220 economy (Sudan)
currency creation, 247–248	debt, 103
currency dealers, 39, 40, 51, See also	economic reform and, 318
banking system, informal, See also	globalization of, 111
illicit economy/black market, See also	inflation, 188, 212
labor remittances	oil boom and, 195, 196, 197
	overview, 103-106
Da'wa, 68	partition of South Sudan, 212-213
Dahabshil, 134, 136	unemployment rates, 215–216
Darod clan, 136, 137, 230	economy of war, 223
dawaleeb, 276	economy, generally, 314, See also banking
DCA (Democratic Alternative	system, formal
Charter), 207	Egal, Muhammad Ibrahim, 233, 237, 246
DCIB (Development Cooperative Islamic	Egypt. See also banking system, informal
Bank), 111 Decree 13 (Sudan), 191	(Egypt), See also Imbaba (Egypt), See also informal economy (Egypt), See
Democratic Alternative Charter	also informal housing (Egypt), See also
(DCA), 207	Islamic Banks (Egypt), See also Islamic
Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), 95	Group (Egypt), See also Islamic
Development Cooperative Islamic Bank	Investment Companies (IICs), See also
(DCIB), 111	labor remittances (Egypt), See also
devoted member stage (muhib), 69	Mubarak regime, See also Muslim
Diab, Jihan, 32	Brotherhood (Egypt), See also Nasser
Digil clan, 137	regime, See also patronage (Egypt),
Dir clan, 137	See also Sadat regime
dispute resolution, 306–308	as strong state, 30–32, 52, 90
diya-paying groups (subclans), 228, 229	centralization by, 169
doctrine of Hisba, 283	control over national economy by, 30
drugs, view of, 288	currency sources for, 153–154

Egypt (cont.) economic reform, 28–32, 35, 36–38, 49, 317 erosion of state capacity by IICs, 40–42 expectations and outcomes in,	Foreign Currency Dealing Act (Sudan), 185 foreign finance, Egypt, 29, 38 formal housing, 34 franco valuta (f.v.) system in Somalia,
32–36, 323 GDP, 29, 30, 32, 153–154 Imbaba, 73–80	142–143, 144, 147 Freedom and Justice Party (JFP), 161–163
informalization of economy and, 32–36, 154	Garowe Conference, 244–245 general adherence stage (marhalat al-rabt
internationalization of the economy by, 25–28, 37, 314 Islamic economy threatened by, 171	al-'am), 68 General Union of Sudanese Students (GUSS), 124
Islamist movement support by, 77, 78–79 labor remittance amounts, 23 overview, 23–25, 316	Gezira Cotton Irrigation Scheme, 96 Gilsenan, Michael, 97 Girifna (Enough), 215
patronage in, 31, 49, 63–64 political developments due to reces-	globalization effects of, xvii
sion, 16 selection of country for book, xvi Somalia compared, 141, 149	internationalization of Egyptian economy, 25–28, 37, 314 lack of international recognition of
Sudan compared, 52, 94, 119–120 violence by al-Sisi regime, 155 Egyptian Businessmen's Association, 51	Somaliland, 235–237 of Sudan, 111, 124–125 political conflict due to, 6
Egyptian Islamic Jihad, 179 Egyptian Saudi Investment Bank (ESIB), 46	state building and, 227 GNOPC (Greater Nile Operating Petroleum Company), 194
electoral system, state changing of, 168 enforcers (baltagiyyat al-'Ataat), 303,	GNP (Gross National Product), 140, 143 Gouda, Mohammed, 162
305–306 Enough (Girifna), 215 ESIB (Egyptian Saudi Investment	government Mosques, 288–289, See also non-government (ahali) Mosques Grand Conference of the Northern Peoples
Bank), 46 Ethiopia al-Ittihad al-Islami and, 257, 259	of Burao, 232 Greater Nile Operating Petroleum Company (GNOPC), 194
Somalia and, 230, 259 UIC and, 261 exchange rates, 39	Gross Domestic Product (GDP) Egypt, 29, 30, 32, 153–154 Somalia, 131, 143, 147
extortion, 83, 303, 305–306	Sudan, 96, 103, 192–193, 195, 206, 212 Gross National Product (GNP), Somalia,
Fadil, Abdel, 45, 160 Faisal Islamic Bank (FIB) growth of, 47, 108–110 Islamist movement and, 129 lending policy of, 112	140, 143 guddoon process, 138 GUSS (General Union of Sudanese Students), 124 guurti (national council of clan elders),
Muslim Brotherhood controlling, 110 staff recruitment and, 115	233, 242
Faisal Islamic Bank of Sudan (FIBS), 107 familial (Assabiyyat) solidarity, 84 famine in Sudan, 113 Farah, Ahmed Yusuf, 228–229	Hafiz, Selim, 276 Hamdi Triangle Dialectics, 202 Hamdi, Abd al-Rahim, 184, 200–202 Harik, Ilya, 31
FIB (Faisal Islamic Bank), 46, 47 FIBS (Faisal Islamic Bank of Sudan), 107	Hassabo, Tariq, 269–270 Hawiye clan, 137
Financial Action Task Force (FATF), 129 Food Riots of 1977 (Egypt), 77	hawwalat. See banking system, informal, See labor remittances

Mubarak regime and, 51 Hilal, Ismail, 165 Hisba doctrine, 283 recession and, 263 regulation by social networks, 35 Husayn, Magdi, 45 state-society relations altered by, 35 values of transactions in, 32 I'tikaf (meditative seclusion), 296–297 informal economy (Egypt):, 30 ICB (Islamic Cooperative Bank of informal economy (Somalia), 219-220, See Sudan), 111 IFM (Islamic Finance House), 111 also banking system, informal IIBD (International Bank for Investment (Somalia), See also labor remittances and Development), 46, 47 (Somalia) IICs. See Islamic Investment Companies informal economy (Sudan), 93, 181, 218, (IICs) See also banking system, informal (Sudan), See also labor remittances Ikhwan, 53, See also Muslim Brotherhood illicit economy/black market. See also (Sudan) informal housing (Egypt) banking system, informal, See also informal labor, See also Islamic as heterogeneous, 79 Investment Companies (IICs), See also as militancy foundation, 70-73 labor remittances, See also local defined, 34 strongmen (baltagiyya) employment opportunities in, 34 hawwalat as not, 134 growth of, 70-73 in Somalia, 142-143, 253 in Imbaba, 76 interdependence with state, 183 labor remittances used for, 25, 34–35 National Islamic Front and, 104 militant Islamists and, 263-265 resurgence in Sudan, 202-208 regulation by social networks, 35 Imbaba (Egypt). See also Islamic Group Sadat regime and, 78 seen as, 176-177 (Egypt) informal labor. See also construction in-migration to, 76, 87 kinship and social networks in, 84-87 workers as militancy foundation, 70-73 lack of political voice by, 168–169 land speculation in, 81-82, 84 defined, 34 map, 325 formal labor compared, 271 National Party in, 163-164 job security, 280-281 social and economic history of, 74-80 local strongmen compared, 303 militant Islamists and, 265-266, 267-270 state confrontation with Islamists, 156 Western Mounira, 73-74, 76, 79-80, 87 recession and, 270-276, 292 Imbaba Youth Association, 75 regulation by social networks, 35 IMF. See International Monetary social class and, 283, 284 Fund (IMF) structure similar to Islamic Group, indirect rule strategy in Sudan, 94 277 - 281infitah, 28-32, 37-38, 50, 154 support for by Islamic Group, 285-287 inflation vulnerability to boom and bust cycles, Somaliland, 242-243, 248 271 - 276Sudan, 188, 212 informal markets, generally. See also illicit informal economy (Egypt). See also bankeconomy/black market ing system, informal (Egypt), See also politics of, 8, See also banking system, informal housing (Egypt), See also informal, See also /i1headings starting informal labor, See also Islamic with, See also labor remittances Welfare Associations (IWAs), See also politics of identity and, 10-12 labor remittances (Egypt) regulation by social networks, 314 as part of GDP, 32 typology of, 9-10 economic reform and growth of, 36–38 informal unions, in Sudan, 216 expansion of due to labor remittance, informal welfare institutions, 55-58, See 32 - 36also Islamic Welfare Associations Islamic Group and, 73-74 (IWAs), See also welfare provisioning Islamist activism and, 91, 263-265 inheritance problems, 308

International Bank for Investment and	ın Imbaba, 80–89
Development (IIBD), 46, 47	informal housing and, 70
International Monetary Fund (IMF), 184	informal networks and, 73-74, 264-265
interpersonal trust. See trust networks	kinship networks and, 300
Iran, alliance with Sudan, 186	leaders versus rank and file members,
Isaaq clan. See also Somaliland	267–269, 281
as major clan, 137	local strongmen, role of, 302-306
Dahabshil Company, 136	Muslim Brotherhood compared, 286,
livestock trading, 143	297, 301
state retribution against, 220, 221,	popular support for, 265–266
231	reasons to join, 297–298
success of, 134	recession and, 270–276
Islamic Banks (Egypt)	recruitment, 266–270, 280, 287,
demise of, 160–163	292, 304
growth of, 41, 52	religious education and, 289–292, 295
Islamic bourgeoisie and, 49–50	revenue generation, 305–306
Islamist movement and, 129	rivalry, control of, 306–308
Muslim Brotherhood and, 54	role of women, 286, 287–288
social welfare provisioning and, 56	rules of conduct, 296–298, 311, 322
state capacity and, 46–48	sermons, relevance of, 287–289
Islamic Banks (Sudan)	social class and membership, 64
al-Baraka Islamic bank, 109	social control by, 88–89
as bridges to formal markets, 107–111	support for workers by, 285–287
commercial class built by, 112–114, 117	surveillance by police or state security,
currency dealers and, 108	309–312
deregulation of, 107–108	tagheer al-munkar (moral degeneration)
failure of, 187	87, 298–302
food hoarding by, 113	violence by, 13–14
growth of, 108–110	welfare provisioning, 285–287, 288–289
=	290–291
integration of, 110 Islamist movement and, 114–125, 129	
lending policy of, 112	Islamic Group (Sudan), 100 Islamic Investment Companies (IICs)
locations of, 113–114	as pyramid schemes, 43, 159
musharaka versus murabaha con-	
tracts, 115	as state alternative, 46 emergence of, 38–40
purposes of, 112	
	erosion of state capacity by, 40–42
staff recruitment and, 114–115, 116	interpersonal trust and, 42–43
Islamic bourgeoisie, 49–50	Islamic bourgeoisie and, 49–50
Islamic Charter Front, 100	Islamist movement and, 42–43, 45–46
Islamic Cooperative Bank of Sudan	Muslim Brotherhood and, 54
(ICB), 111	reasons for success of, 42–46
Islamic Finance House (IFM), 111	state regulation of, 158–160
Islamic Group (Egypt). see also non-	Islamic Movement for Liberation
government (ahali) Mosques	(IML), 99
capitalization on erosion of traditional	Islamic Welfare Associations (IWAs)
authority, 311–312	erosion of traditional authority, 324
confrontation of by state, 156–157	growth of, 14, 36, 56
Coptic Christians, conflict with, 291,	IICs and, 45
299–300, 301	Islamist movement and, 57, 293
debt issues dealt with by, 285	militant Islamists and, 266, 321–322
discipline of members, 296–297	numbers of, 56
doctrine of Hisba, 283	role of, 14
dulab and, 277–281	social welfare provisioning as key factor
employment crisis exploited by, 276	in, 55
erosion of trust networks and, 283–285	state regulation of, 56

kinship. See also clan system in Somalia Islamist Authoritarianism. See see al-Bashir importance of, xviii-xix Islamist movement (Egypt). See also social networks and, xvi, 84-87, 300 Muslim Brotherhood (Egypt) Krugman, Alan, 312 banks as empowering, 47 labor. See informal labor departure from conventional explanations for, 17 labor migration (Egypt) financial base for, 53 characteristics of people, 26–27 IICs and, 42-43, 45-46 factors in, 26 in Imbaba, 76 liberalization of, 90 receiving country conditions and, 26 informal economy and, 91 legitimacy from politics for, 164-167 rural/urban divide, 27 overview of, 89-90 Labor Party, 164, 165-167 Sadat regime and, 77, 78 labor remittances (Egypt) social class and, 77 amounts of, 23 social welfare provisioning as key factor construction worker growth due to, 72 in, 55-58 economic impacts of, 29 support for politicians, 164 formal banking deregulation to get more Islamist movement (Somalia) clan system and, 134, 258-259, 262 IICs used for, 159 hawwalat and, 136, 320 impacts of, 7 labor remittances and, 262 inability of state to regulate, 40 militant Islamists and, 257 informal economy expansion, 32-36, Islamist movement (Sudan) 71 - 72factions in, 214 informal housing created by, 25, 71-72 globalization of, 124-125 Islamic finance and, 129 Islamic banking, 114-125, 129 methods for, 24 parallel economy as threat to, 181-184 reliance on, 27–28 Sufism and, 98-99, 101 labor remittances (Somalia) Islamist movement, generally amounts of, 220 by clan, 132, 254-255 in Puntland, 245, 246, 253 informal markets and, 10-12 clan system and, 132, 134-137, 144 Islamic Banks and, 129 ethnic politics and, 147 recruitment, 12 impacts of, xviii, 7, 130-134 social and economic crisis and, 324 importance of, 143 social networks benefitting, xvii, 54, Islamist movement and, 262 60-65, 315-319 new companies involved in, 133 state authoritarian and corruption opposition to Barre and, 231 boosting, 169 state building and, 220, 227 Sufism and, 98-99, 101, 116-117 war on terrorist finance and, 128-129 types of, 13 labor remittances (Somaliland) Isma'il, Salah Abu, 44 as social safety net, 238, 240-241 Ismail, Salwa, 287 by clan, 237-241 state building and, 237-243 JFP (Freedom and Justice Party), 161-163 labor remittances (Sudan) Joma'a, No'man, 164 amounts of, 185, 188, 192-193, 195 juvenile delinquency, 288 economic crisis blamed on, 204 impacts of, 7 Kahin, Dahir Rivale, 237 Islamic finance and, 102–106, 129 Kamel, Sayed Farouk, 168, 169 Muslim Brotherhood and, 94 Karrar, Babikir, 100 recession and, 182 khaliyyas (social morays), 69 state banking and, 185 Khatmiyya Sufi order, 95-96, 112, See also labor remittances, generally Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) boom and bust changes, xv-xvi, 6 Khutba (sermons), 287-289, 290, 305 impacts on local politics, 6-8

labor remittances, generally (cont.)	money laundering, 134
market typology, 9	money management companies (Sharikat
labor unions, 50–51, 75	Tawzif al-Amwal). See Islamic
land speculation, 81-82, 84, 159	Investment Companies (IICs)
Law 146 (Egypt, 1998), 158	moral degeneration (tagheer al-munkar),
Law 32 (Egypt, 1977), 29	87, 298–302
Law 43 (Egypt, 1974), 29	morality, Muslim Brotherhood member-
Law of Appointing Omdas (Qarar Ta'ayeen	ship and, 68
al'Omid), 310	Morgaan, Ali, 82, 85
leftist activism, in Imbaba, 75-78	Morgaan, Mahmoud, 83
Lewis, I.M. 228, 230	Mosques. See government Mosques, See
literacy education, 295	non-government (ahali) Mosques
livestock trading	Mubarak regime
decrease in, 220	assassination attempt against, 191
importance of, 141	business groups, 50–51
parallel economy and, 143-144	informal banking system and, 49-50
Somaliland versus Puntland, 250-252	informal housing promoted by, 34
trust building and, 243	informal markets and, 29, 51
Local Councils, 309, 323	Islamic Banks and, 48
local strongmen (baltagiyya), 83-84, 88,	Muslim Brotherhood and, 53,
266, 302–306	157–158, 170
lumpenproletariate (al-proleteriat al-	strength of state under, 52
ratha), 275	Mubarak, Jamil, 220
	Mudaraba principle, 43
Mahdi, Ali, 256	muhib (devoted member stage), 69
Majerteen. See Puntland (Somalia)	murabaha contracts, 115, 189
Malik, Hassan, 53, 157	musharaka contracts, 115
marhalat al-rabt al-'am (general adherence	musharaka versus riba, 42, 46, 189
stage), 68	Muslim Brotherhood (Egypt)
marital relations, resolution of, 235	bourgeoisie emergence and, 49-54
market crocodiles (tamasih al-suq), 187	changing political strategy of, 167–169
marriages, 291	commitment to, 65
Masjid al-Nur, structure of, 294	coordination with Labor Party, 164
McCormick, B. 35	customization of recruitment mater-
meditative seclusion (I'tikaf), 296–297	ials, 62
Menkhaus, Ken, 224	economic reform in Egypt and, 31, 52–53
Middle East and North Africa (MENA)	golden age of, 59–70
region, 23, See also specific counties	increasing influence of, 54–59
migrant workers ('Umaal Taraheel), 80	inter-generational tensions, 171
militant Islamists. See also radical Islamists	Islamic Banks and, 47–48, 161–163
as global issue, 3	Islamic Group compared, 286, 301
benefits from state and, 319–321	Islamic Investment Companies and,
capitalism and, 3	44–45
causes of, 11–12	members of, 58, 59, 63–65
commonalities with other extremists, 15	mobilization strategies, 58, 60–67
comprehensive solution to needed, 324	NDP and, 52, 78
economic factors in recruitment, 12	phases of membership, 68–70, 171
informal housing seen as, 176–177	radical Islamists, differentiation
Muslim Brotherhood differentiation	from, 175
from, 175	recruitment, 170, 171–175
social networks and, xvii	Sadat and Mubarek and, 53, 157–158
Somalia, 255–262, 319	social class and, 64–65, 77, 172–175, 313
terrorism distinguished from, 12–15	state repression of, 157–158
Mitchell, Timothy, 81	Sufism and, 176
Modern Forces, 126	tarbiyya, 66–67, 70

Muslim Brotherhood (Somalia), 257 National Party (NP), 163-164 Muslim Brotherhood (Sudan) natural resources, curse of, 196–197, additional services by, 99 199, 237 civil society organizations established by, NCF (National Consensus Forces), 207 123-125 NCP (National Congress Party), 191, 200, coup by, 126-127 210, 212 dominance of state's financial institutions NCU (National Cooperative Union), 111 by, 184, 185 NIF. See National Islamic Front (NIF) economic transformation and growth of, non-government (ahali) Mosques. See also 117 - 118Islamic Group (Egypt) emergence of, 99-100 closure by security forces, 156 growth of, 102 erosion of traditional authority, 324 incorporation into state institutions, Muslim Brotherhood and, 58, 172 119-125 radical Islamists using, 321 role and structure of, 293-296 Islamic Banks and, 110, 114–125, 189-190 Sadat regime and, 78 Islamic Group compared, 297 sermons, 287–289, 290, 305 military, infiltration of, 122-123 social welfare provisioning as key factor National Islamic Front and, 101 ostentatious lifestyles of members, 190 political involvement by, 100-102 Ogaden clan, 143, 230-231 recruitment by, 114-125 oil boom revolution for national salvation and, informal labor and, 271–276 126-127 labor migration due to, 26 success of, 92-93 labor remittances and, xv-xvi, 6 Sudan Socialist Union, role in, 122 Sudan and, 192-200, 212 welfare provisioning by, 117 Omdas and Sheiks, 307, 309-311 Operation Green Quest, 128-130 Nafie, Nafie Ali, 207 Osman, Osman Ahmad, 49 Nasser regime, 74–75, 76 ostracism (Ta'zeer), 296-297 National Congress Party (NCP), 191, 200, 210, 212, See also see al-Bashir regime PAIC (Popular Arab and Islamic National Consensus Forces (NCF), 207 Congress), 179 National Cooperative Union (NCU), 111 parallel economy. See also banking system, national council of clan elders (guurti), informal, See also hawwalat, See also Islamic Banks, See also labor 233, 242 National Democratic Party (NDP), 52, 78 remittances National Islamic Front (NIF). See also becoming threat to Islamic movement, Muslim Brotherhood (Sudan), See also 181 - 184National Congress Party (NCP), See benefits of, 38 defined, 9 also Sudan bankruptcy of, 192 economic reform and, 36 becoming National Congress Party, 191 labor remittances as expanding, 33 black market and, 104 livestock trading, 141, 143-144 coup by, 93, 126-127 Somalia, 140-147 currency dealers and, 108 partition of South Sudan, 200-202, 209, financial policies, 181 212-213 foreign finance, 104 patronage (Egypt) history of, 100 extortion and, 83 opposition to, 101 in Egypt, 49, 63-64, 65 popular support for, 183 in Imbaba, 74, 76 Muslim Brotherhood mobilization and, power of, 180 Revolution Command Council and, 63-64, 65 178 - 179politics of in weakened state, 163-164 National Memorandum for Peace, 126 patronage (Somalia), 145-146, 149

patronage (Sudan) oil boom and, 195, 198, 199, 212 partition of South Sudan and, 200	riba versus musharaka, 42, 46, 189 rural/urban divide, in labor migration, 27
Sufi power and, 94	sabi, 277, 279
PCP (Popular Congress Party), 207	Sadat regime
PDF (Popular Defense Forces), 178	business groups, 50–51
peace conferences (shir beeleed),	economic liberalization by, 28, 71
233–234, 241	informal banking system and, 49–50
People of the Sunna and the Community	informal housing promoted by, 34
(Ahl al-Sunna Wal Jama'a), 257	Islamist movement and, 55, 77, 78
Political Associations Act (1998,	Muslim Brotherhood and, 53
Sudan), 191	Sagemen, Marc, 312
Popular Arab and Islamic Congress	Salafist group, 214, 301
(PAIC), 179	Samatar, Abdi, 139
Popular Congress Party (PCP), 207	SCN (Sudan Change Now), 215
Popular Defense Forces (PDF), 178, 186	SDM (Somali Democratic
poverty, impact of, 312–313, 323	Movements), 222
private Mosques. See non-government	September Laws in Sudan, 119, 121, 125,
	126–127
(ahali) Mosques protection (the racket), 226, 266, 298–299	
	sermons (Khutba), 287–289, 290, 305
Puntland (Somalia) commercialization of communal and	Shain, Abd al-Sabur, 44 shari'a courts in Somalia, 256
public assets, 254	shari'a law, 119, 121, 125, 126–127
income, 238–239, 248	Sharikat Tawzif al-Amwal (money man-
Islamist identification in, 245, 246, 253	agement companies). See Islamic
networks of inclusion and exclusion,	Investment Companies (IICs)
253–255	Sheikh peace conference, 242
Somaliland compared, 224, 246–253	shir beeleed (peace conferences),
state building and, 244–253	233–234, 241
pyramid schemes, 43, 159	Singerman, Diane, 59, 156
pyramic schemes, 45, 159	small firms, informal markets and, 276
Qarar Ta'ayeen al'Omid (Law of	SNM (Somalia National Movement), 134,
Appointing Omdas), 310	221–222, 231–232
Appointing Omass, 510	social class
radical Islamists, 60–65, 312–313, 321, See	conflicts between, 174–175
also al-Bashir regime, See also Islamic	informal labor and, 283, 284
Group (Egypt), See also militant	Islamic Bank lending practices and, 115
Islamists	Islamic militancy and, 176
Rahanwayn clan, 137	Islamist movement and, 77
Rawabit Iqlimiyya (Regional	Muslim Brotherhood membership and,
Associations), 85	64–65, 77
real estate profiteering, 81–82, 84, 159	Somalia, 149, 229–230
recession	Sudan, 211
informal labor and, 270–276, 292	social morays (khaliyyas), 69
political developments due to, 15	social networks. See also clan system in
trust network erosion due to, 282, 284	Somalia, See also trust networks
Regional Associations (Rawabit	downside of, 11
Iqlimiyya), 85	effects of, xvii
religious education (tarbiyya),	extortion and, 84
289–292, 295	increasing importance of, 85
remittances. See labor remittances	informal labor and, 273, 274–275
rent seeking. See patronage	interpersonal trust, IICs and, 42–43
resource curse, 196–197, 199, 237	Islamic activism and, xvii, 54, 60–65,
Revolution Command Council (RCC),	315–319
178, 191, See also al-Bashir regime	kinship and, xvi, 84–87, 300
-,, 2400111 14811110	

non-government (ahali) mosques and, 295	state disintegration and clan networks,
regulation of informal markets by, 35 social welfare provisioning. See welfare	228–232 war on terrorism impacts, 128–131, 133,
provisioning	219–220
Soliman, Samar, 50, 161	Xeer, 138–139, 228, 229
Somali Conference (13th), 260	Somalia National Movement (SNM), 134,
Somali Democratic Movements	221–222, 231–232
(SDM), 222	Somali-Ethiopia war, 230
Somali National Movement (SNM),	Somaliland. See also labor remittances
231–232	(Somaliland)
Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM), 222	clans in, 228
Somali Reconciliation and Rehabilitation	colonialism and, 138, 229
Council (SSRC), 260	commercialization of communal and
Somali Salvation Democratic Front	public assets, 254 income, 237, 238–239, 248
(SSDF), 137, 222, 230, 244 Somalia. See also banking system, informal	inflation, 242–243, 248
(Somalia), See also clan system in	informal banking system and, 236, 249
Somalia, See also economy (Somalia),	informal social networks in, 234–235
See also Islamist movement (Somalia),	lack of international recognition of,
See also labor remittances (Somalia),	235–237
See also Puntland (Somalia), See also	multiparty elections versus clan-based
Somaliland, See also specific clans	system, 224
as weak state, 139–140, 144	networks of inclusion and exclusion,
austerity programs, 220	253–255
civil war in, 221–222, 256	new currency in, 249
debt, 141	Puntland compared, 246–253
dependence on foreign aid, 140	state building and, 223-224, 232-235,
divergent path of, 149	236, 237–243, 246–253
economy of war, 223	taxation, 240-241, 242
Egypt and Sudan compared, 141,	unskilled labor market, 254
149	South Sudan, partition of, 200-202, 209,
Ethiopia and, 259	212–213
expectations and outcomes in, 40	SPA (Sudanese Professional
franco valuta (f.v.) system, 142–143,	Association), 210
144, 147	SPLM (Sudanese People's Liberation
GDP, 131, 143, 147	Movement), 103, 198
history of, 137–140, 228–230	SPLM-N (Sudan People's Liberation
income distribution, 146	Movement North), 207
livestock trading, 141, 143–144,	SPM (Somali Patriotic Movement), 222
220	SRF (Sudanese Revolutionary Forces), 207
map, 326	SSDF (Somali Salvation Democratic
militant Islamists, 255–262	Front), 137, 222, 230, 244
origins of state disintegration, 140–147	SSRC (Somali Reconciliation and Rehabilitation Council), 260
overview, 317 parallel economy in, 140–147	state building
patronage in, 145–146, 149	globalization and, 227
political developments due to reces-	in Puntland (Somalia), 244–253
sion, 16	in Somalia, 223–227
Puntland, 224	in Somaliland, 223–224, 232–235, 236,
reasons for state collapse, 220–223	237–243, 246–253
selection of country for book, xvi	labor remittances and, 227
social networks and wealth accumulation,	Tilly, Charles on, 228
254–255	trust networks and, 228
sources of finance in, 145-146	war and, 226–227, 246
state building, 226–227	state-society dichotomy, 9, 315-319

strongmen. See local strongmen	regional inequalities in, 103
(baltagiyya)	religious divide in, 94
subclans (diya-paying groups), 228, 229	resource curse in, 196–197, 199
subyan, exploitation of, 267, 280, 302	Revolution Command Council, 178, 191
Sudan. See also al-Bashir regime, See also	revolution for national salvation and,
economy (Sudan), See also informal	126–127
economy (Sudan), See also Islamic	rising prices in, 209–211
Banks (Sudan), See also labor remit-	Salafist group, 214
tances (Sudan), See also Muslim	sanctions against, 179–180, 191
Brotherhood (Sudan), See also Sufism	selection of country for book, xvi
al-Ittihad al-Islami and, 257	shari'a law in, 119, 121, 125, 126–127
as weak state, 94–97, 98, 119–120	Somalia compared, 141, 149
austerity programs, 180, 185, 203, 204,	struggle for political legitimacy by, 187
206, 209	uprising in 2018, 208–211
black market resurgence, 202–208	Wanderers movement, 214–215
civil war in, 198–200	youth movement in, 215–218
coercive apparatus of state, 205	Sudan Change Now (SCN), 215
consolidation of power, 186–187	Sudan People's Liberation Movement
cotton industry, 96	North (SPLM-N), 207
debt, 192	Sudan Socialist Union (SSU), 122
democratization resistance factors,	Sudanese Armed Forces, 122–123
205–207	Sudanese Islamic Bank, 112
Egypt compared, 52, 94, 119–120	Sudanese People's Liberation Movement
expectations and outcomes in, 39	(SPLM), 103, 198
famine in, 113	Sudanese Professional Association
financial reforms in, 184–186	(SPA), 210
foreign finance, 102–103	Sudanese Revolutionary Forces (SRF), 207
GDP, 96, 103, 192–193, 195, 206, 212	Sufism
heterogeneity of, 92	Ansar order, 95–96
import-export and, 187, 192	Islamist movement and, 98–99, 101,
in colonial era, 138–139	116–117
indebtedness, 103	Khatmiyya order, 95–96
inflation, 188, 212	Muslim Brotherhood compared, 176
interdependence of illicit economy	patronage and, 94
in, 183	politics and, 97–99
International Monetary Fund and, 184	welfare provisioning and, 117
Iran alliance, 186	summer camps in Sudan, 123–124
Islamist Authoritarianism, unraveling of,	supporter member stage ('udu al-
211–213	muaid), 69
lending patterns in, 187, 189	surveillance by police or state security, 286,
military coup in, 92, 93, 178, 181	309–312
military spending in, 197, 204	Ta'raan (astroniam) 206 207
monetary crisis in, 180	Ta'zeer (ostracism), 296–297
National Memorandum for Peace, 126	Tadamun Islamic Bank, 110
oil boom and, 192–200 overview, 317	tagheer al-munkar (moral degeneration), 87, 298–302
partition of South Sudan, 200–202, 209,	Taha, Ali Osman, 178, 204
212–213	tamasih al-suq (market crocodiles), 187
	Tar (blood feud), 301
peace agreement, 199 political developments due to reces-	tarbiyya, 66–67, 70
sion, 16	tarbiyya, 00–07, 70 tarbiyya (religious education),
politics of ethnicity emergence,	289–292, 295
198–200, 217	taxation
protests of 2012, 203–204	Islamic Welfare Associations exemption
recruitment of modern Muslims, 99–102	from, 57

Somalia, 139 United States, war on terrorist finance in Somaliland, 240-241, 242 Somalia, 128–131, 133 Sudan, 105 University of Gezira student killings, 217 telecom services industry, 247-248 unskilled labor market, 254 terrorists and terrorism upstanding brother stage ('udu almuntassib), 69 al-Ittihad al-Islami seen as, 255 failed states and, 319-324 USC (United Somali Congress), failure of, 13 222-223, 232 finance of, 128-131, 133 Islamist activism distinguished from, Wahba, Jackline, 35 Wahdat al-Shabaab al-Islam, 257 12 - 15militant Islamists distinguished from, Wanderers (Al-Sayihoon) movement, 12 - 15214-215 Somalia, 219-220 war TFG (Transitional Federal Government), civil war in Somalia, 221–222, 256 259-260 civil war in Sudan, 198-200 the racket (protection), 226, 266, 298-299 economy of war, 223 Tilly, Charles, 25, 35, 227, 228 interstate versus intrastate, 226-227 TNA (Transitional National state building and, 226-227, 246 Assembly), 191 war on terrorism Toth, James, 275 failed states and, 319-324 Transitional Federal Government (TFG), failure of, 13 finance of, 128-131, 133 259-260 Transitional National Assembly Somalia, 128-131, 133, 219-220 (TNA), 191 Waterbury, John, 26, 29, 30 weddings, 291 trust networks. See also social networks erosion of, 282, 283-285 welfare provisioning. See also Islamic extortion and, 84 Welfare Associations (IWAs) IICs and, 42-43 in Imbaba, 88 Islamic Investment Companies and, Islamic Banks and, 56 Islamic Group and, 285-287, 288-289, Muslim Brotherhood and, 61-62, 63 290-291 Somalia hawwalat and, 135 Islamic movement and, 55-58 state building and, 228 people as not relying on state, 173, 323 Tur, Abd al-Rahman 'Ali, 233 Sufism supplanted by Muslim Brotherhood, 117 UIC (Union of Islamic Courts), 225 Western Mounira, Imbaba, 73-74, 76, Umma Party, 99, 100-101, 110, 207 79-80, 87, See also Islamic Group UN Resolution 1514 (1960), 235 (Egypt) unemployment rates, Sudan, 215-216 Wickham, Carrie Rosefky, 61 Union of Islamic Courts (UIC) women, role of, 286, 287-288 al-Ittihad al-Islami, association with, 256 Alliance for Restoration of Peace and Xeer, 138-139, 228, 229 Counter Terrorism and, 260 clannism and, 260-261 Yusif, Abdullahi, 230, 244-245, 259, 260 Ethiopia and, 259 success of, 260 Zakat takeover of Mogadishu, 225, 255-257 erosion of traditional authority, 324 unions, 215, 216 Islamic Group, 305–306 United Somali Congress (USC), IWAs and, 45, 57 222-223, 232 social welfare provisioning and, 56

