

# Index

'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 legitimacy of, 203 pragmatism of, 199 radical Islamists and, 178-180

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-Sayihoon (Wanderers) movement, 214-215 al-Sha'rawi, Sheikh, 44, 48

391



### 392 Index

Al-Shamal Bank, 110 al-Shater, Khairat, 53, 65-67, 70, 157-158 al-Sisi regime, 155 al-Tilmasani, Omar, 49 al-Turabi, Hassan. See also Muslim Brotherhood (Sudan), See also Sudan appointment as Attorney General, 101, 123 Islamic Finance House and, 111 military committee member, 123 Muslim Brotherhood leader, 100, 110 Amal hawwalat, 136 Amin, Galal, 29 Annual World Muslim Camp, 124 Ansar Sufi order, 95–96 Arab league, Somalia joining of, 141 Arab-Islamic triangle, 202 Ashiqqa' Party, 99, See also Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) Association of the People of Assiut, 85 austerity programs. See economic austerity measures baltagiyya al-'Ataat (enforcers), 303, 305-306 baltagiyya (local strongmen), 83-84, 88, 266, 302–306 Bank Act of 1982 (Sudan), 111 banking system, formal competition with black market, 202 deregulation to be more attractive for labor remittances, 51 economic reform and growth of, 37 in Egypt, 30, 31, 161, 162–163 in Sudan, 185, 187, 189 loans to currency dealers by, 40 locations of, 113-114 banking system, informal (Egypt). See also Islamic Banks, See also Islamic Investment Companies (IICs) closure of al-Barakat and, 16 currency dealers in, 39 economy and, 27, 37-38, 40-42, 49-50 regulation by social networks, 35 banking system, informal (Somalia) clans and, 135-137 impacts of, 130, 319 importance of, 131 operation of, 135 reciprocity in, 135-136 trust networks, 135 war on terrorist finance and, 133 banking system, informal (Somaliland), 236, 249 banking system, informal (Sudan)

labor remittances, 94, 104-105, 106, 108 locations of, 113-114 Muslim Brotherhood and, 94 Bantus clan, 146 Barakat, Abdel Hamid, 165-167 Barre regime. See also Somalia Arab league and, 141 clan treatment by, 220, 221, 230-231 divergent path of Somalia and, 149 fall of, 221-222 legalization of black market, 142-143, 316 nationalism policy, 230 opposition to, 221-222, 231-232 weak state and, 139 Bellin, Eva, 30 Bianchi, Robert, 51 Bin Laden, Osama, 110, 179-180, 191 black market. See illicit economy/black market blood feud (Tar), 301 Borama conference, 233 brain drain due to labor migration, 26 Capital Market Authority, 158 casual labor. See informal labor Central Bank of Egypt (CBE), 161, 162-163 central bank, Sudan, 106 charities, 129, See also Islamic Welfare Associations (IWAs) Chevron, 194 chieftainship practice, 229 China, 194 chivalrous baltagiyya, 303 Christians, 291, 299-300, 301, 306 City of Workers, 75 civil society organizations established by Muslim Brother, 123-125 civil war in Somalia, 221-222, 256 civil war in Sudan, 198-200 clan (Qabiliyat) solidarity, in Imbaba, 84 clan system in Somalia. See also specific clans as variation of state building, 223-226 hawwalat reliance on, 130 infighting, 223, 224 intraclan conflicts, 233 Islamist movement and, 134, 258-259 labor remittances and, 132, 134-137,

144, 254-255

CNPC, 194

state building and, 227

state disintegration and, 228-232

subclans (diya-paying groups), 228, 229



Index 393

273, 276-281

economy (Sudan)

economic reform and, 318

partition of South Sudan, 212-213

unemployment rates, 215-216

globalization of, 111

inflation, 188, 212 oil boom and, 195, 196, 197

overview, 103-106

debt, 103

colonialism Somalia, 229-230 Somaliland, 138, 229 Sudan, 138-139 committed member stage ('udu almultazim), 69 Communist Party of Sudan (CPS), 99-100 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (Sudan), 199 construction coffee houses, 276, 281-283 construction workers. See also informal dulabs and, 267, 273, 276-281 in Imbaba, 76, 86 labor migration and, 72-73 social organization of, 278-280 structure similar to Islamic Group, 277 - 281vulnerability to boom and bust cycles, 271 - 276Coptic Christians, 291, 299-300, 301, 306 cotton industry, 96 Council of Defenders of the Revolution (Council of Forty), 178 CPS (Communist Party of Sudan), 99-100 Crenshaw, Martha, 13, 313 currency creation, 247-248 currency dealers, 39, 40, 51, See also banking system, informal, See also illicit economy/black market, See also labor remittances

Da'wa, 68 Dahabshil, 134, 136 Darod clan, 136, 137, 230 dawaleeb, 276 DCA (Democratic Alternative Charter), 207 DCIB (Development Cooperative Islamic Bank), 111 Decree 13 (Sudan), 191 Democratic Alternative Charter (DCA), 207 Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), 95 Development Cooperative Islamic Bank (DCIB), 111 devoted member stage (muhib), 69 Diab, Jihan, 32 Digil clan, 137 Dir clan, 137 dispute resolution, 306-308 diya-paying groups (subclans), 228, 229 doctrine of Hisba, 283 drugs, view of, 288

DUP (Democratic Unionist Party), 95 economic austerity measures Egypt, 77 political developments due to, 15 Somalia, 220 Sudan, 180, 185, 203, 204, 206, 209 economy (Egypt) capital flight, 37-38 informal banking system and, 27, 37-38, 40-42, 49-50 informalization of, 32-36, 154 internationalization of, 25-28, 37, 314 Muslim Brotherhood recruitment changing due to, 172-175 reform of, 28-32, 35, 36-38 economy (Somalia) crisis in, 142, 147, 220 debt, 141 dependence on foreign aid, 140 remittances as central component of, 132 state disintegration and, 319 unemployment rates, 220

dulab (informal construction firms), 267,

economy of war, 223 economy, generally, 314, See also banking system, formal Egal, Muhammad Ibrahim, 233, 237, 246 Egypt. See also banking system, informal (Egypt), See also Imbaba (Egypt), See also informal economy (Egypt), See also informal housing (Egypt), See also Islamic Banks (Egypt), See also Islamic Group (Egypt), See also Islamic Investment Companies (IICs), See also labor remittances (Egypt), See also Mubarak regime, See also Muslim Brotherhood (Egypt), See also Nasser regime, See also patronage (Egypt), See also Sadat regime

as strong state, 30–32, 52, 90 centralization by, 169 control over national economy by, 30 currency sources for, 153–154



## 394 Index

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

See labor remittances

Food Riots of 1977 (Egypt), 77



Index 395

Hilal, Ismail, 165 Hisba doctrine, 283 Husayn, Magdi, 45 I'tikaf (meditative seclusion), 296-297 ICB (Islamic Cooperative Bank of Sudan), 111 IFM (Islamic Finance House), 111 IIBD (International Bank for Investment and Development), 46, 47 IICs. See Islamic Investment Companies (IICs) Ikhwan, 53, See also Muslim Brotherhood illicit economy/black market. See also banking system, informal, See also informal labor, See also Islamic Investment Companies (IICs), See also labor remittances, See also local strongmen (baltagiyya) hawwalat as not, 134 in Somalia, 142-143, 253 interdependence with state, 183 National Islamic Front and, 104 resurgence in Sudan, 202-208 Imbaba (Egypt). See also Islamic Group (Egypt) in-migration to, 76, 87 kinship and social networks in, 84-87 lack of political voice by, 168-169 land speculation in, 81-82, 84 map, 325 National Party in, 163-164 social and economic history of, 74-80 state confrontation with Islamists, 156 Western Mounira, 73-74, 76, 79-80, 87 Imbaba Youth Association, 75 IMF. See International Monetary Fund (IMF) indirect rule strategy in Sudan, 94 infitah, 28-32, 37-38, 50, 154 inflation Somaliland, 242-243, 248 Sudan, 188, 212 informal economy (Egypt). See also banking system, informal (Egypt), See also informal housing (Egypt), See also informal labor, See also Islamic Welfare Associations (IWAs), See also labor remittances (Egypt) as part of GDP, 32 economic reform and growth of, 36-38 expansion of due to labor remittance,

Mubarak regime and, 51 recession and, 263 regulation by social networks, 35 state-society relations altered by, 35 values of transactions in, 32 informal economy (Egypt):, 30 informal economy (Somalia), 219-220, See also banking system, informal (Somalia), See also labor remittances (Somalia) informal economy (Sudan), 93, 181, 218, See also banking system, informal (Sudan), See also labor remittances (Sudan) informal housing (Egypt) as heterogeneous, 79 as militancy foundation, 70-73 defined, 34 employment opportunities in, 34 growth of, 70-73 in Imbaba, 76 labor remittances used for, 25, 34-35 militant Islamists and, 263-265 regulation by social networks, 35 Sadat regime and, 78 seen as, 176-177 informal labor. See also construction workers as militancy foundation, 70-73 defined, 34 formal labor compared, 271 job security, 280-281 local strongmen compared, 303 militant Islamists and, 265-266, 267-270 recession and, 270-276, 292 regulation by social networks, 35 social class and, 283, 284 structure similar to Islamic Group, 277 - 281support for by Islamic Group, 285-287 vulnerability to boom and bust cycles, 271 - 276informal markets, generally. See also illicit economy/black market politics of, 8, See also banking system, informal, See also /ilheadings starting with, See also labor remittances politics of identity and, 10-12 regulation by social networks, 314 typology of, 9-10 informal unions, in Sudan, 216 informal welfare institutions, 55-58, See also Islamic Welfare Associations (IWAs), See also welfare provisioning

inheritance problems, 308

32 - 36

Islamic Group and, 73-74

Islamist activism and, 91, 263-265



### 396 Index

International Bank for Investment and in Imbaba, 80-89 Development (IIBD), 46, 47 informal housing and, 70 informal networks and, 73-74, 264-265 International Monetary Fund (IMF), 184 interpersonal trust. See trust networks kinship networks and, 300 Iran, alliance with Sudan, 186 leaders versus rank and file members, 267-269, 281 Isaaq clan. See also Somaliland 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 role of women, 286, 287-288 Muslim Brotherhood and, 54 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, integration of, 110 290-291 Islamist movement and, 114-125, 129 Islamic Group (Sudan), 100 lending policy of, 112 Islamic Investment Companies (IICs) locations of, 113-114 as pyramid schemes, 43, 159 musharaka versus murabaha conas state alternative, 46 tracts, 115 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 state regulation of, 158-160 Islamic Finance House (IFM), 111 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 growth of, 14, 36, 56 confrontation of by state, 156-157 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 in, 55 employment crisis exploited by, 276 erosion of trust networks and, 283-285 state regulation of, 56



Index 397

Islamist Authoritarianism. See see al-Bashir regime	kinship. See also clan system in Somalia importance of, xviii–xix
=	
Islamist movement (Egypt). See also Muslim Brotherhood (Egypt)	social networks and, xvi, 84–87, 300
banks as empowering, 47	Krugman, Alan, 312
departure from conventional explan-	labor. See informal labor
ations 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
informal economy and, 91	receiving country conditions and, 26
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)	of, 51
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)	71–72
factions 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
in Puntland, 245, 246, 253	by clan, 132, 254–255
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
TT 11 D 11 D1 1 225	impacts of, 7
Kahin, Dahir Riyale, 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



### 398 Index

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 alstrength of state under, 52 Mubarak, Jamil, 220 ratha), 275 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) bourgeoisie emergence and, 49-54 marital relations, resolution of, 235 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 matermeditative 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 radical Islamists, differentiation informal housing seen as, 176-177 Muslim Brotherhood differentiation from, 175 recruitment, 170, 171-175 from, 175 Sadat and Mubarek and, 53, 157-158 social networks and, xvii 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

Index 399

Muslim Brotherhood (Sudan) additional services by, 99 civil society organizations established by, 123-125 coup by, 126-127 dominance of state's financial institutions by, 184, 185 economic transformation and growth of, 117-118 emergence of, 99-100 growth of, 102 incorporation into state institutions, 119 - 125Islamic Banks and, 110, 114-125, 189 - 190Islamic Group compared, 297 military, infiltration of, 122-123 National Islamic Front and, 101 ostentatious lifestyles of members, 190 political involvement by, 100-102 recruitment by, 114-125 revolution for national salvation and, 126-127 success of, 92-93 Sudan Socialist Union, role in, 122 welfare provisioning by, 117 Nafie, Nafie Ali, 207 Nasser regime, 74-75, 76 National Congress Party (NCP), 191, 200, 210, 212, See also see al-Bashir regime National Consensus Forces (NCF), 207 National Cooperative Union (NCU), 111 national council of clan elders (guurti), 233, 242 National Democratic Party (NDP), 52, 78 National Islamic Front (NIF). See also Muslim Brotherhood (Sudan), See also

National Congress Party (NCP), See also Sudan bankruptcy of, 192 becoming National Congress Party, 191 black market and, 104 coup by, 93, 126-127 currency dealers and, 108 financial policies, 181 foreign finance, 104 history of, 100 opposition to, 101 popular support for, 183 power of, 180 Revolution Command Council and, 178-179 National Memorandum for Peace, 126

National Party (NP), 163-164 natural resources, curse of, 196-197, 199, 237 NCF (National Consensus Forces), 207 NCP (National Congress Party), 191, 200, 210, 212 NCU (National Cooperative Union), 111 NIF. See National Islamic Front (NIF) non-government (ahali) Mosques. See also Islamic Group (Egypt) closure by security forces, 156 erosion of traditional authority, 324 Muslim Brotherhood and, 58, 172 radical Islamists using, 321 role and structure of, 293-296 Sadat regime and, 78 sermons, 287-289, 290, 305 social welfare provisioning as key factor

Ogaden clan, 143, 230–231 oil boom informal labor and, 271–276 labor migration due to, 26 labor remittances and, xv–xvi, 6 Sudan and, 192–200, 212 Omdas and Sheiks, 307, 309–311 Operation Green Quest, 128–130 Osman, Osman Ahmad, 49 ostracism (Ta'zeer), 296–297

PAIC (Popular Arab and Islamic Congress), 179 parallel economy. See also banking system, informal, See also hawwalat, See also Islamic Banks, See also labor remittances becoming threat to Islamic movement, 181 - 184benefits of, 38 defined, 9 economic reform and, 36 labor remittances as expanding, 33 livestock trading, 141, 143-144 Somalia, 140-147 partition of South Sudan, 200-202, 209, 212-213 patronage (Egypt) extortion and, 83 in Egypt, 49, 63-64, 65 in Imbaba, 74, 76 Muslim Brotherhood mobilization and, 63-64, 65 politics of in weakened state, 163-164 patronage (Somalia), 145-146, 149



### 400 Index

patronage (Sudan) oil boom and, 195, 198, 199, 212 partition of South Sudan and, 200 Sufi power and, 94 PCP (Popular Congress Party), 207 PDF (Popular Defense Forces), 178 peace conferences (shir beeleed), 233-234, 241 People of the Sunna and the Community (Ahl al-Sunna Wal Jama'a), 257 Political Associations Act (1998, Sudan), 191 Popular Arab and Islamic Congress (PAIC), 179 Popular Congress Party (PCP), 207 Popular Defense Forces (PDF), 178, 186 poverty, impact of, 312-313, 323 private Mosques. See non-government (ahali) Mosques protection (the racket), 226, 266, 298-299 Puntland (Somalia) commercialization of communal and public assets, 254 income, 238-239, 248 Islamist identification in, 245, 246, 253 networks of inclusion and exclusion, 253-255 Somaliland compared, 224, 246-253 state building and, 244-253 pyramid schemes, 43, 159

Qarar Ta'ayeen al'Omid (Law of Appointing Omdas), 310

Group (Egypt), See also militant Islamists Rahanwayn clan, 137 Rawabit Iqlimiyya (Regional Associations), 85 real estate profiteering, 81-82, 84, 159 informal labor and, 270-276, 292 political developments due to, 15 trust network erosion due to, 282, 284 Regional Associations (Rawabit Iqlimiyya), 85 religious education (tarbiyya), 289-292, 295 remittances. See labor remittances rent seeking. See patronage resource curse, 196-197, 199, 237 Revolution Command Council (RCC), 178, 191, See also al-Bashir regime

radical Islamists, 60-65, 312-313, 321, See

also al-Bashir regime, See also Islamic

riba versus musharaka, 42, 46, 189 rural/urban divide, in labor migration, 27

sabi, 277, 279 Sadat regime business groups, 50-51 economic liberalization by, 28, 71 informal banking system and, 49-50 informal housing promoted by, 34 Islamist movement and, 55, 77, 78 Muslim Brotherhood and, 53 Sagemen, Marc, 312 Salafist group, 214, 301 Samatar, Abdi, 139 SCN (Sudan Change Now), 215 SDM (Somali Democratic Movements), 222 September Laws in Sudan, 119, 121, 125, 126 - 127sermons (Khutba), 287-289, 290, 305 Shain, Abd al-Sabur, 44 shari'a courts in Somalia, 256 shari'a law, 119, 121, 125, 126-127 Sharikat Tawzif al-Amwal (money management companies). See Islamic Investment Companies (IICs) Sheikh peace conference, 242 shir beeleed (peace conferences), 233-234, 241 Singerman, Diane, 59, 156 small firms, informal markets and, 276 SNM (Somalia National Movement), 134, 221-222, 231-232 social class conflicts between, 174-175 informal labor and, 283, 284 Islamic Bank lending practices and, 115 Islamic militancy and, 176 Islamist movement and, 77 Muslim Brotherhood membership and, 64-65, 77 Somalia, 149, 229-230 Sudan, 211 social morays (khaliyyas), 69 social networks. See also clan system in Somalia, See also trust networks downside of, 11 effects of, xvii extortion and, 84 increasing importance of, 85 informal labor and, 273, 274-275 interpersonal trust, IICs and, 42-43 Islamic activism and, xvii, 54, 60-65, 315-319

kinship and, xvi, 84-87, 300



Index 401

non-goverment (ahali) mosques and, 295 regulation of informal markets by, 35 social welfare provisioning. See welfare provisioning Soliman, Samar, 50, 161 Somali Conference (13th), 260 Somali Democratic Movements (SDM), 222 Somali National Movement (SNM), 231-232 Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM), 222 Somali Reconciliation and Rehabilitation Council (SSRC), 260 Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF), 137, 222, 230, 244 Somalia. See also banking system, informal (Somalia), See also clan system in Somalia, See also economy (Somalia), See also Islamist movement (Somalia), See also labor remittances (Somalia), See also Puntland (Somalia), See also Somaliland, See also specific clans as weak state, 139-140, 144 austerity programs, 220 civil war in, 221-222, 256 debt, 141 dependence on foreign aid, 140 divergent path of, 149 economy of war, 223 Egypt and Sudan compared, 141, 149 Ethiopia and, 259 expectations and outcomes in, 40 franco valuta (f.v.) system, 142-143, 144, 147 GDP, 131, 143, 147 history of, 137-140, 228-230 income distribution, 146 livestock trading, 141, 143-144, 220 map, 326 militant Islamists, 255-262 origins of state disintegration, 140-147 overview, 317 parallel economy in, 140-147 patronage in, 145-146, 149 political developments due to recession, 16 Puntland, 224 reasons for state collapse, 220-223 selection of country for book, xvi social networks and wealth accumulation, 254-255 sources of finance in, 145-146 state building, 226-227

state disintegration and clan networks, 228-232 war on terrorism impacts, 128-131, 133, 219-220 Xeer, 138-139, 228, 229 Somalia National Movement (SNM), 134, 221-222, 231-232 Somali-Ethiopia war, 230 Somaliland. See also labor remittances (Somaliland) clans in, 228 colonialism and, 138, 229 commercialization of communal and public assets, 254 income, 237, 238-239, 248 inflation, 242-243, 248 informal banking system and, 236, 249 informal social networks in, 234-235 lack of international recognition of, 235-237 multiparty elections versus clan-based system, 224 networks of inclusion and exclusion, 253-255 new currency in, 249 Puntland compared, 246-253 state building and, 223-224, 232-235, 236, 237-243, 246-253 taxation, 240-241, 242 unskilled labor market, 254 South Sudan, partition of, 200-202, 209, 212 - 213SPA (Sudanese Professional Association), 210 SPLM (Sudanese People's Liberation Movement), 103, 198 SPLM-N (Sudan People's Liberation Movement North), 207 SPM (Somali Patriotic Movement), 222 SRF (Sudanese Revolutionary Forces), 207 SSDF (Somali Salvation Democratic Front), 137, 222, 230, 244 SSRC (Somali Reconciliation and Rehabilitation Council), 260 state building globalization and, 227 in Puntland (Somalia), 244-253 in Somalia, 223-227 in Somaliland, 223-224, 232-235, 236, 237-243, 246-253 labor remittances and, 227 Tilly, Charles on, 228 trust networks and, 228 war and, 226-227, 246 state-society dichotomy, 9, 315-319



### 402 Index

strongmen. See local strongmen (baltagiyya) subclans (diya-paying groups), 228, 229 subyan, exploitation of, 267, 280, 302 Sudan. See also al-Bashir regime, See also economy (Sudan), See also informal economy (Sudan), See also Islamic Banks (Sudan), See also labor remittances (Sudan), See also Muslim Brotherhood (Sudan), See also Sufism al-Ittihad al-Islami and, 257 as weak state, 94-97, 98, 119-120 austerity programs, 180, 185, 203, 204, 206, 209 black market resurgence, 202-208 civil war in, 198-200 coercive apparatus of state, 205 consolidation of power, 186-187 cotton industry, 96 debt, 192 democratization resistance factors, 205-207 Egypt compared, 52, 94, 119-120 expectations and outcomes in, 39 famine in, 113 financial reforms in, 184-186 foreign finance, 102-103 GDP, 96, 103, 192-193, 195, 206, 212 heterogeneity of, 92 import-export and, 187, 192 in colonial era, 138-139 indebtedness, 103 inflation, 188, 212 interdependence of illicit economy in, 183 International Monetary Fund and, 184 Iran alliance, 186 Islamist Authoritarianism, unraveling of, 211 - 213lending patterns in, 187, 189 military coup in, 92, 93, 178, 181 military spending in, 197, 204 monetary crisis in, 180 National Memorandum for Peace, 126 oil boom and, 192-200 overview, 317 partition of South Sudan, 200-202, 209, 212-213 peace agreement, 199 political developments due to recession, 16 politics of ethnicity emergence, 198-200, 217 protests of 2012, 203-204

regional inequalities in, 103 religious divide in, 94 resource curse in, 196-197, 199 Revolution Command Council, 178, 191 revolution for national salvation and, 126 - 127rising prices in, 209-211 Salafist group, 214 sanctions against, 179-180, 191 selection of country for book, xvi shari'a law in, 119, 121, 125, 126-127 Somalia compared, 141, 149 struggle for political legitimacy by, 187 uprising in 2018, 208-211 Wanderers movement, 214-215 youth movement in, 215-218 Sudan Change Now (SCN), 215 Sudan People's Liberation Movement North (SPLM-N), 207 Sudan Socialist Union (SSU), 122 Sudanese Armed Forces, 122-123 Sudanese Islamic Bank, 112 Sudanese People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), 103, 198 Sudanese Professional Association (SPA), 210 Sudanese Revolutionary Forces (SRF), 207 Sufism Ansar order, 95-96 Islamist movement and, 98-99, 101, 116 - 117Khatmiyya order, 95-96 Muslim Brotherhood compared, 176 patronage and, 94 politics and, 97-99 welfare provisioning and, 117 summer camps in Sudan, 123-124 supporter member stage ('udu almuaid), 69 surveillance by police or state security, 286, 309-312 Ta'zeer (ostracism), 296-297

Ta'zeer (ostracism), 296–297
Tadamun Islamic Bank, 110
tagheer al-munkar (moral degeneration),
87, 298–302
Taha, Ali Osman, 178, 204
tamasih al-suq (market crocodiles), 187
Tar (blood feud), 301
tarbiyya, 66–67, 70
tarbiyya (religious education),
289–292, 295
taxation

Islamic Welfare Associations exemption from, 57

recruitment of modern Muslims, 99-102



Index

Somalia, 139 Somaliland, 240-241, 242 Sudan, 105 telecom services industry, 247-248 terrorists and terrorism al-Ittihad al-Islami seen as, 255 failed states and, 319-324 failure of, 13 finance of, 128-131, 133 Islamist activism distinguished from, 12 - 15militant Islamists distinguished from, 12 - 15Somalia, 219-220 TFG (Transitional Federal Government), 259-260 the racket (protection), 226, 266, 298-299 Tilly, Charles, 25, 35, 227, 228 TNA (Transitional National Assembly), 191 Toth, James, 275 Transitional Federal Government (TFG), 259-260

extortion and, 84 IICs and, 42–43 Islamic Investment Companies and, 42–43 Muslim Brotherhood and, 61–62, 63 Somalia hawwalat and, 135 state building and, 228 Tur, Abd al-Rahman 'Ali, 233

trust networks. See also social networks

Transitional National Assembly

erosion of, 282, 283-285

(TNA), 191

UIC (Union of Islamic Courts), 225 Umma Party, 99, 100–101, 110, 207 UN Resolution 1514 (1960), 235 unemployment rates, Sudan, 215–216 Union of Islamic Courts (UIC) al-Ittihad al-Islami, association with, 256 Alliance for Restoration of Peace and Counter Terrorism and, 260 clannism and, 260–261 Ethiopia and, 259 success of, 260 takeover of Mogadishu, 225, 255–257 unions, 215, 216 United Somali Congress (USC), United States, war on terrorist finance in Somalia, 128–131, 133
University of Gezira student killings, 217 unskilled labor market, 254
upstanding brother stage ('udu almuntassib), 69
USC (United Somali Congress), 222–223, 232

403

Wahba, Jackline, 35 Wahdat al-Shabaab al-Islam, 257 Wanderers (Al-Sayihoon) movement, 214–215

war civil war in Somalia, 221–222, 256 civil war in Sudan, 198–200 economy of war, 223 interstate versus intrastate, 226–227 state building and, 226–227, 246 war on terrorism

war on terrorism
failed states and, 319–324
failure of, 13
finance of, 128–131, 133
Somalia, 128–131, 133, 219–220
Waterbury, John, 26, 29, 30
weddings, 291
welfare provisioning. See also Islamic

Welfare Associations (IWAs)

in Imbaba, 88
Islamic Banks and, 56
Islamic Group and, 285–287, 288–289, 290–291
Islamic movement and, 55–58
people as not relying on state, 173, 323
Sufism supplanted by Muslim
Brotherhood, 117

Western Mounira, Imbaba, 73–74, 76, 79–80, 87, See also Islamic Group (Egypt) Wickham, Carrie Rosefky, 61 women, role of, 286, 287–288

Xeer, 138-139, 228, 229

Yusif, Abdullahi, 230, 244-245, 259, 260

Zakat

erosion of traditional authority, 324 Islamic Group, 305–306 IWAs and, 45, 57 social welfare provisioning and, 56