Ethical Leadership Practice: The Foundation of Political and Economic Development in Kenya.

Abstract
The subject of ethical practices in Kenya has been a hot one for the last two decades. Unethical practices in organizations and at the political arena have been widely reported in the wake of many high-profile management and financial scandals. Even with the establishment of the Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission and laws and regulations aimed at curbing corruption, the situation has not improved significantly. Leaders are coming under increasing scrutiny because of the role they play in managing ethical conduct and modelling ethical behaviour. Failure of political leaders and executives to provide moral leadership has led to citizens being disappointed and national goals remaining largely unmet. Increasingly so, recent debates about issuance of citizenship certificates may leave many citizens disenfranchised; all of which have a major influence on political and economic development.

Theory and research suggest that leaders should, and do, influence ethical behaviour. This paper explores theoretical arguments why leaders should play an important role of influencing ethical behaviour and why it is imperative for them to model the desired behaviour. The paper explores ethical practices from Aristotle’s perspective, cognitive moral development and social learning theories. This paper also tries to argue that laws alone cannot ‘convert’ the society that has developed and perfected the art of unethical practices. A new way of thinking is necessary, that will involve and empower everyone to start thinking and behaving in an ethical way.

The paper therefore provides a prescriptive model of addressing ethical dilemmas in the public service in order to promote nation building. Several recommendations applicable not only to the public service but also to other Kenyan sectors have been made and it is believed that if adopted will go a long way in transforming leaders and followers into ethically responsible people who will foster nation building. The work of transformation begins with leaders who are themselves transformed and in turn mentor others to produce the desired behaviour. In this way, political and economic development in Kenya will cease to be a mirage.

KEY WORDS
Ethical leadership, Moral Development, Transformational Leadership, Servant Leadership

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INTRODUCTION
The quest for ethical leadership for nation building is a task which resembles the search for the Holy Grail. The legend of the Holy Grail originated with the belief that Joseph of Arimathea had brought the cup used for the first Eucharist to Europe and that it would appear to those in a sufficient state of grace to behold it. The Publication of Perceval: The Story of the Grail by Chrentien de Troyes in the twelfth century led to sustained interest in the search for the Holy Grail and in the ways of achieving the state of grace needed to find it (Adrian, 2006).

Failure by political leaders and executives to provide moral leadership has led to citizens being disappointed and national goals remaining largely unmet. Increasingly so, recent debates about issuance of citizenship certificates, arbitrary increase of legislators’ allowances and blatant refusal by them to pay taxes, increase in the cost of living, etc. may leave many citizens disenfranchised, all of which have a bearing in political and economic development.

The need for an improved ‘state of grace’ in executive and political leadership in Kenya has become evident in a series of reported case of corruption in public service, corporate collapses, abuse of power and office right from independence into this century. Unethical practices in public sector and in the political arena have been widely reported in Kenya in the wake of many high-profile management and financial scandals. Failure to deal with this poor ‘state of grace’ in Kenya has resulted in a series of major scandals in the recent past. There have been reports of provincial administrators stealing and selling relief food for personal gain. Emeka in his article appearing in the “Daily Nation’ dated 24th July 2011 reported corruption allegations in a government ministry which have stalled the issuance of citizens’ certificates. These certificates are crucial for citizens in order for them to exercise their democratic rights and participate in nation building. Another classical example is the infamous Goldenberg scam of the 90s and Anglo leasing scam in this century which have continued to have ripple effects to the economy up to now. The 2008 Grand Regency saga, for example, had its origin in the Goldenberg scam. A common factor in all these scandals is the abuse of office by the executives and politically-correct individuals.

Consequently, leaders are coming under increasing scrutiny because of the role they play in managing ethical conduct and modelling ethical behaviour. If Kenya is to develop both politically and economically and to ultimately achieve Vision 2030, leadership must be transformed to start acting ethically.

The word ‘ethics’ refers to both a discipline and the subject matter of that discipline—the actual values and the rules of conduct by which we live (Solomon, 2005) Talk of ethics and everyone will think of a blameless and flawless individual. Yet every human being has a system of ethics. For most people, it is not systematic therefore; they have to employ various ethical guidelines depending on the situation to help them make decisions. However, there are people who actually prescribe to
systems of ethical analysis. Three major areas of prescribed systems of ethical analyses are metaethics, normative ethics and applied ethics. Meta means about. Metaethics explores where our ethical principles came from and what they mean. Metaethics focus on the origins of ethics. It tries to establish whether morality is humanly constructed or is something that exists apart from humans or both (Stanford, 2005). The key point of focus is what guides our decisions about what is right and wrong.

The word ‘ethics’ comes from the Greek word ethos, meaning ‘character’ or ‘custom’ and the derivative phrase ta ethika, was used by the philosophers Plato and Aristotle to describe their own studies of Greek values and ideals (Solomon, 2005). Ethics is first of all a concern for individual character, including what we call ‘being a good person’. It is also a concern for the overall character of an entire society. Ethics is participation in and an understanding of an ethos- the effort to understand the social rules which govern and limit our behaviour especially those fundamental rules, such as prohibitions and requirements to respect the rights of others, which we call morality.

According to Solomon (2005), ethics is that part of philosophy which is concerned with living well, being a good person, doing the right thing, getting along with other people and wanting the right things in life. Ethics is essential to living in society with its various traditions, practices and institutions. Those traditions, practices and institutions determine many of the rules and expectations that define the ethical outlook of the people living within them. Solomon further argues that ethics has both a social and a personal dimension, but it is not at all easy, in theory or in practice, to separate these dimensions. The prescriptive model for ethical leadership given in this paper builds on this understanding. The study of ethics teaches us to appreciate the overall system of reasons within which having ethics makes sense (Zimmerli, et al., 2007). It is not enough that we have ethics and that we act according to our values and rules. We must act for reasons and be able to defend our actions if called upon to do so. Similarly, it is not enough to have strong opinions regarding an issue or to hold a position on a certain controversial social issue. It is important to have reasons, to have a larger vision, to have a framework within which to house and defend one’s opinions (Solomon, 2005). Ethical leadership for nation building must construct its foundation on reasoning that establishes mechanisms for promoting practices that pursue the greater good for all. The concept of transformative leadership practices discussed later in this paper aims at showing that we cannot build a strong ethical society without emphasising on a value system. This is where normative ethics finds its place.

Normative ethics is the field of ethical study that seeks to determine norms or standards for right and wrong behaviour. The three major types of theories within normative ethics are virtue theories, duty theories and consequentialist theories. Virtue theories focus on demonstrating virtues (good behaviour) while avoiding vices (bad behaviour). Duty theories focus on our obligations. Consequentialist theories look at the results of our actions (Beauchamp and Bowie, 1983). The results determine the rightness of the action.
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Theory and research suggest that leaders should, and do, influence ethical behaviour. In this paper, the author explores theoretical reasons why leaders should play an important role in living ethically and influencing ethical behaviour. This paper looks at ethical practices from Plato and Aristotelian viewpoints, cognitive moral development and social learning perspectives.

Plato articulated a virtue theory, so did Aristotle. Plato believed that there were cardinal virtues that we should pursue over all other virtues. These cardinal virtues are wisdom, courage, temperance and justice. Other important virtues included fortitude, generosity, self-respect, good temper and sincerity. Plato’s idea is that training in the sciences and metaphysics are a necessary prerequisite for a full understanding of our good (Stanford, 2005). Aristotle follows Plato in taking the virtues to be central to a well-lived life. He however, rejects Plato’s idea that training in the sciences is a necessary pre-requisite for a full understanding of our good. He argues that what we need to live well is a proper appreciation of the way in which such goods as friendship, pleasure, virtue, honour and wealth fit together as a whole.

The backbone of Aristotle’s ethics is that there are differences of opinion about what is best for human beings, and that to profit from ethical inquiry we must resolve this disagreement. Ethics is about asking what the good for human being is and by acquiring that knowledge of what is good, we will be able to achieve what is good for everyone. In seeking for the good, Aristotle is not looking for a list of items that form the ‘good’. He assumes that a list can be compiled rather easily; for example, it is good to be friendly, to experience pleasure, to be healthy, to be honoured and to have such virtues as courage at least to some degree. The difficult and controversial question is whether certain of these goods are more desirable than others (Stanford, 2005). Aristotle’s search for the good is a search for the highest good and he assumes that the highest good whatever it turns out to be has three characteristics:

- It is desirable for itself
- It is not desirable for the sake of some other good.
- All other goods are desirable for its sake.

If ethical leadership practice is about seeking for the highest good, this raises a critical question as to whether our leaders actually practice ethical leadership. Aristotle argues that in order to apply that general understanding to particular cases, we must acquire, through proper upbringing and habits, the ability to see, on each occasion which course of action is best supported by reasons. Therefore, practical wisdom, as he conceives it cannot be acquired solely by learning general rules. Individuals must be willing to pursue the greater good. It is on the bases of this understanding and reasoning that this paper explores social learning and moral development theories as foundation for strong moral development. The application of these two theories complements each other and forms a strong framework for building ethical leadership.
Aristotle argues that unlike other species, human beings have a rational soul. The good of a human being must have something to do with being human. What sets humanity off from other species, giving us the potential to live a better life, is our capacity to guide ourselves by using reason. The questions that many Kenyans are asking are: Do our parliamentarians and public servants who steal and/or abuse office have a rational soul? Are they focusing on the highest good? If we use reason well, we live well as human beings; or to be more precise, using reason well over the course of a full life is what happiness consists of. Doing anything well requires virtue or excellence, and therefore living well consists of activities caused by the rational soul in accordance with virtue or excellence. According to Aristotle (Stanford, 2005), living well consists of doing something, not just being in a certain state or condition. It consists of those lifelong activities that actualize the virtues of the rational part of the soul. It is for this reason that I submit that Kenyan leaders ought to understand that acquisition of more money and power cannot lead to living well. Real happiness does not result from a state of being powerful and wealthy. It is what they do-acquiring and exercising the virtues that lead to virtuous life that makes them happy and satisfied in life. De Pree (1987: 12) contends that leadership is a concept of owing certain things to others. Therefore, our leaders must understand that they are stewards and not owners of the power that has been entrusted to them by the citizens. Hill (1997:159) argues that authority is not an avenue for self-promotion but rather a platform from which to serve others. Leadership is based on serving, not the standard view that it is based on power and self-interest. Effective leadership calls for servant leadership. Servant leaders subordinate their own interests to the good of the whole, listening carefully, equipping others to succeed, building trust and responsibly marshalling corporate success (Hill, 1997). I submit that the responsibility of being virtuous rests on the individual. Human beings have ‘the will’ and the ability to make decisions based on their concept of ‘right’ or ‘wrong’. This ‘will’ can, however, be enlightened and can in turn enhance an ethical decision making process. The ‘will’ is not only powerful in the decision-making process but also in the execution of the decision made. We must acquire, through practice, those deliberative, emotional and social skills that enable us to put our general understanding of well-being into practice, in ways that are suitable to each occasion.

**Cognitive Moral Development Theory (Kohlberg,1969)**

Kohlberg’s theory focuses on how individuals reason through ethical dilemmas and how they decide what is right. According to Kohlberg(1969), people reason at six stages that can be understood in terms of three broad levels: pre-conventional, conventional and post-conventional(principled level). Pre-conventional individuals (the lowest level) are concerned with avoiding punishment and the law of reciprocity works in this level. Principled individuals (the highest level) make decisions autonomously by looking inside themselves and are guided by principles of justice and rights (Crain,1985).

According to Rest, 1986; Rest, Narvaez, Bebeau & Thoma, 1999, majority of adults reason at the conventional level of moral development. Such conventional-level individuals look outside themselves to rules and laws and to the expectations of
significant others in their environments for guidance when determining the ethically right thing to do. This makes ethical leaders the most important source of moral guidance as followers look to leaders for clues about what behaviour is appropriate and inappropriate (Trevino, Brown, 2004). The debates in Kenyan situation is whether the country actually has moral leaders who can be depended on to provide ethical leadership and if they exist, are they afraid or just reluctant to provide that leadership especially in the public sector. Going by Kohlberg’s argument, if majority of the leadership were in level two of moral development, they would at least obey rules, codes of ethical practice and laws. This would significantly reduce corruption.

Individuals at the principled level of moral development are less likely to engage in negative behaviours such as corruption and theft, whereas, those at lower levels are more likely to engage in such behaviours and are more susceptible to outside influences (Greenberg, 2002). This argument could explain why some sectors are viewed as more corrupt than others due to the influence leaders and peers have on those who join them. Although other outside influences such as peers (Zey-Ferrell, 1982) and formal organizational systems, such as ethics codes and training programs (Greenberg, 2002) affect ethical behaviour, leaders should be a key source of ethical guidance due to the authority role they play.

Leaders’ level of moral reasoning has also been shown to influence the moral reasoning used by group members in their decision making (Dukerich, Nichols, Elm & Vollrath, 1990) and leadership styles have been shown to influence conformity in ethical decision-making frameworks in work groups (Schminke, Wells, Peyrefitte & Sebora, 2002).

**Social Learning**

Social learning has been used to discuss how leaders influence followers more generally. Role modelling has been observed to be an essential leader behaviour (House, 1977), Bass (1985), and Kouzes and Posner (1987). More specifically, charismatic or transformational leaders are thought to influence followers through modelling and identification process (Avolio, 1999).

A social learning perspective (Bandura, 1977) suggests that leaders influence their followers by way of modelling processes. Modelling has been acknowledged to be a powerful means of transmitting values, attitudes and behaviours. According to Bandura, followers observe their leaders, learn what to do as well as what not to do and then act. Furthermore, the consequences of the behaviour will determine whether it will be repeated or not. If the consequences of the behaviour are positive, that behaviour is repeated and vice versa. Modelling by leaders, therefore, can influence followers to be ethical or unethical. Followers can also learn to be ethical by observing leaders who stand up for what is right, especially if leaders are successful in doing so. The social learning approach argues that because of leaders’ authority role and power to reward and punish, followers will pay attention to and mimic leaders’ behaviours and they will do what is rewarded and avoid doing what is punished in the organization. The questions that beg answers in the Kenyan case are:
why is there corruption and unethical practices in many sectors? Is it because the rules are weak or the systems to enforce them are weak or both? Should ethical training be put much emphasis? And should an accountability framework be put in place for leaders and should punishment meted on unethical leaders be more severe? Unless these questions are honestly answered and pragmatism rather than mere rhetoric prevails, corruption and unethical practices will continue to be a daily occurrence in Kenya.

Ethical life is a product of life-long learning. If an enlightened ‘will’ is alive to the ‘good’, the individual acts ethically and vice versa. The individual’s response to the social world is very active. The individual may make decisions in the light of others’ attitudes. Mead’s social interaction theory argues that there exists both the ‘me’ and the ‘I’ in an individual. The ‘Me’ is social self and the ‘I’ is a response to the ‘Me’ (Mind, Self and Society, 118). The ‘I’ is the response of the organism to the attitude of the others; and the ‘Me’ is the organised set of attitudes of others which one assumes. Mead defines the ‘me’ as a conventional, habitual individual and the ‘I’ as the novel reply of the individual to the generalised other (Mind, Self and Society, 197). The ‘me’ is the internalisation of roles which derive from such symbolic processes as linguistic interaction, playing and gaming, whereas the ‘I’ is a ‘creative response’ to the symbolized structures of the ‘me’ (that is, to the generalised other). The point here is that ethical behaviour—the highest good—is prompted by the knowledge and understanding acquired. The ‘I’ must respond to the ‘me’ in order for ethical behaviour to be realised. In other words, knowledge is not enough—putting knowledge into action is critical. On the basis of this argument, this article will discuss later a model which can enhance acquisition of knowledge and the practice of ethical decision making process.

According to Solomon (2005), we learn ethics, typically, a piece at a time. Our education begins in childhood with examples or continuous demonstrations of normative behaviour. Mead argues that the human individual exists in a social situation and responds to that solution. The situation has a particular character, but this character does not completely determine the response of the individual; there seem to be alternative courses of action. The individual must select a course of action (and even a decision to do ‘nothing’ is a response to the situation) and act accordingly; but the course of action the individual selects is not dictated by the situation. It is this indeterminacy of response that gives the sense of freedom, of initiative (Mind, Self and Society, 177). The action of the ‘I’ is revealed only in the action itself and specific prediction of the action of the ‘I’ is not possible. The individual is determined to respond, but the specific character of the individual response is not fully determined. The individual’s responses are conditioned, but not determined by the situation in which he or she acts (Mind, Self and Society, 210-211).

It is in light of this that I question the validity of the argument put forward by former top Kenya government officials during the Goldenberg Commission of Inquiry in 2003. Several people who testified before the commissioners argued that they acted unethically during the period the Goldenberg scandal was being perpetrated because
they had been instructed to do so by their seniors. Their argument was simply saying that they did not have a conscience – the ‘I’ never existed in their lives. This is completely ridiculous. The action of the ‘I’ which I will call the decision of the conscience cannot be overruled by the situation. The individual has power to respond appropriately to an ethical dilemma.

Leadership in Kenya must rise to the occasion and need for good (ethical) leadership. The use of the word ‘good’ or ‘ethical’ here has two senses, morally good and technically good or effective. If a good leader means good in both cases, then the leader must be effective and ethical. The question “What constitutes a good leader” lies at the heart of many public debates about leadership today. We want our leaders to be good in both ways. Nonetheless, we are often more likely to say leaders are good if they are moral, but not effective. Leaders face a paradox. They have to stay in business or get re-elected in order to be leaders. If they are not minimally effective at doing these things, their morality as leaders is usually irrelevant, because they are no longer leaders. In leadership, effectiveness sometimes must take priority over ethics. What we hope for our leaders is for them to know when ethics should and when ethics should not take a back seat to effectiveness. Ciulla (1995) argues that the quality of leadership also depends on the means and the ends of a leader’s actions. Most of us would prefer leaders who do the right thing, the right way and for the right reasons.

Transforming Leadership and Servant Leadership are normative theories of leadership. Both emphasize the relationship of leaders and followers to each other and the importance of values in the process of leadership. James MacGregor Burn’s theory of transforming leadership rests on a set of moral assumptions about the relationship between leaders and followers (Zimmerli et al., 2007). According to Greenleaf (1977), servant leaders lead because they want to serve others. In both transforming leadership and servant leadership, leaders not only have values, but they help followers develop their own values, which will hopefully overlap or be compatible with those of the organization (Zimmerli et al., 2007). This raises a concern in the Kenyan context. Several cases of unethical behaviour involving Kenyan leaders have been highlighted by the media. Leadership practice in the Kenyan context seems to unduly benefit the leaders. Leaders who are politically well-connected have been accused of promoting corrupt practices, nepotism and abuse of office. The temporary closure of Uchumi Supermarkets, the collapse of Kenya National Assurance Company, and the collapse of several state corporations, administrators stealing relief food and such like ills attest to this fact.

**Ethical leadership- which way forward?**

The ethical framework presented in this paper favours a value-based leadership practice that is embedded on principles. The old saying, *corruptisima republica plurimae leges (The more corrupt a republic, the more the laws it has)* is very applicable in our context today. Codes with legal enforceability are rules. Kenya tends to favour a rules-based approach to governance and ethical practices. In the
Kenyan context, this is seen in the way legislations have been enacted by Parliament in order to promote ethical behaviour. Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission Act, 2011, Anti-Corruption and Economic Crimes Act(2003), Company’s Act( CAP 486), Retirement Benefits Authority Act( 1997), Capital Markets Authority Act(CAP 485 A), Restrictive Trade, Monopolies and Price Controls Act( CAP 504) and several others are a testimony to a widening recognition of the need for improved corporate governance and ethical management and leadership practices. Violations to rules may result in legal actions which vary from criminal to civil in nature. Sanctions and retributions only serve as deterrents. They are not transformational in nature.

Principles on the other hand are advocated by many as they are seen to have a long lasting effect on individual and group behaviour. The advantages of principles over rules as argued by Adrian (2006) are given below:

- Principles are easy to understand but are not rigidly defined as rules.
- Principles relate to individual behaviour in order to shape group behaviour, whereas rules are undifferentiated.
- Principles should have universal acceptance whereas rules may be specific to a given group at a certain point in time.
- Principles usually reflect universal values, which are easy to recognise. How those values are interpreted may vary between cultures and individuals. Honesty, for example, may be interpreted differently by Mafia members and clergymen.
- Principles are touchstones. You can usually recognise them when you meet them, even though it would be difficult to define them in a way which everybody would accept. Rules need to be defined in order to be enforced. Such definition may often involve measurement (as in speed limits) and measurement aids enforcement.
- Principles relate to human behaviour and reflect the norms expected of each of us by the rest of the society. Where the majority respects a principle, it will become the norm and others will be expected to abide by it individually. Where a principle loses general acceptance, it will be changed by general consent. The consent of principle lies in their general acceptance and their ability to create trust between individuals and within society. Rules are rarely embedded in the human psyche nor do they have the universality associated with principles. Rules are made to regulate the conduct of a specific group at a certain point in time. Often, rules are preventive rather than enabling; couched in negative rather than positive terms, and rules tend to change with circumstances.
- Principles are usually more enduring since they are passed down the generations and become ‘hard wired’ in our psyche.

Why are laws failing to achieve a ‘state of grace’ in Kenya today? The reason is that ethical practices, as observed by Adrian (2006), must engage humankind, individually and collectively. Judgement and action are human qualities, not those of processes or procedures; hence a transformational approach is required since it people’s mindsets, values and beliefs which in turn changes people’s behaviour and actions.
The sad state in the Kenyan society is that we have very few role-models of virtue-based leadership practice. Such a practice almost becomes a wished-for ideal rather than practical leadership practice. The questions that need answers are: Is being an ethical leader an ideal or a possible actual state of being? Why does executive white-collar crime occur regularly? The glaring truth about unethical executive and political leadership practices is that the challenge is more societal than individual. Some Kenyans have been credited for being ethical only after they have left an organization where they had demonstrated ethical and moral leadership. An example of such a case is a former employee of the Central Bank who was fired for whistle blowing during the time of Goldenberg scam. In Kenya, money, power and position have been good ‘indices’ for measuring one’s commitment to leadership.

With this indictment on the Kenyan society, is there hope of ever transforming people into a community of people sensitive to ethical practices? This paper submits that this is possible. Focus- groups’ discussions held with senior public servants point to the fact that many Kenyans desire to see this gloomy situation changed. First, many people believe that the society will be changed once individuals have been sensitized and encouraged to change their behaviour. Second, when the few ethical leaders in the society model and lead the way, many will follow that way. Third, majority of the people believe that leaders who do not demonstrate ethical behaviour should face consequences of their failure. They should be removed from positions of authority and where possible, make restitution for their unethical behaviour.

The fundamental principle as reinforced by Ciulla, 2004 is that both the individual and the society have a role to play in creating ethical people. The spirit of morality, said Aristotle, is awakened in the individual only through the witness and conduct of a moral person. The principle of the ‘witness of another’, ‘role modelling’ or ‘mentoring’ is predicated on the process given below:

- As communal creatures, we learn to conduct ourselves primarily through the actions of significant others,
- When the behaviour of others is repeated often enough and proves to be peer-group positive, we emulate these actions,
- If and when our actions are in turn reinforced by others, they become acquired characteristics or behavioural habits.

According to Skinner, the process is now complete (Ciulla, 2004). In affecting the actions of individuals through modelling and reinforcement, the mentor in question has succeeded in reproducing the type of behaviour sought after or desired. For Skinner, the primary goal of the process need not take into consideration either the value or worth of the action or the interests or intent of the reinforced or operant-conditioned actor. According to Skinner (1971: 107-108, 214-215) the bottom line is simply the response evoked. From a philosophical perspective, however, even role modelling that produces a positive or beneficial action does not fulfil the basic requirements of the ethical enterprise at either the descriptive or normative level. Modelling, emulation, habit, results—whether positive or negative are neither the sufficient nor the final goal. The fourth and final step in the process must include
reflection, evaluation, choice, and conscious intent on the part of the actor, because ethics is always “an inside-out proposition” involving free will (Covey, 1990: 42-43).

**Transforming Public Service Landscape for Nation Building**

Following Skinner’s and Covey’s arguments, this paper prescribes developing ethical leadership that is built on transformational leadership practices. Underlying these leadership practices is value-based leadership. Borrowing a term from Kohlberg’s stages of moral development, ‘post-conventional’ morality individuals can initiate the transformational process towards others becoming ethical people. These transformation agents are people who want to keep society functioning in a morally ideal way. Such agents are required in the transformation of Kenya’s political and economic landscape if we are to build the country in any significant way. They subordinate individual or group interests to national interests and consider the rights and values that a nation ought to uphold. They believe by the principles that uphold love and justice, for a healthy, normal society. According to these people, the principles of justice require us to treat the claims of all parties in an impartial manner, respecting the basic dignity of all people as individuals. The principles of justice guide us toward decisions based on equal respect for all. Post-conventional moralists are transformed people. They possess vision, courage and enlightenment. They see things as they truly are, transcending the limitations and conceptions of their tradition and culture. This in my view is a basic pre-condition for nation building. Values and ethics must have their origins and resolutions in the community (Ciulla, 2004). It is for this reason that this paper prescribes the society to be the focal point of ethical behaviour. To achieve ethical behaviour, the entire society must make a commitment. Interviews conducted on senior public servants revealed that people want to see a change in the way business is conducted if Kenya is to achieve political and economic development. Respondents proposed that ethical training should start at family level and school curricula right from primary schools should include the ethical component. It was further revealed that religion should play an important role in preaching ethical practices.

**Proposed Model for National Development and Transformation**

Citizens recognize and assert that good governance is the necessary condition for sustainable economic and political development. Despite decades of development aid, most African countries have not improve significantly since independence (Morton, J. 1994) . Several public sector reforms that have been undertaken have not improved significantly the effectiveness, accountability and transparency of governments in Africa (Morton,J. 1994).

The argument I put forward advocates formulation of a model that will transform our landscape for nation building. This will ensure that a strong foundation of building the nation will be established. This model is based on the principles below.

- **Selection and Role Modelling**
  Identify and appoint highly ethical people to lead the transformation process. People who have a passion to change the landscape should be the ones appointed.
Transformative checks and audits should be established. The aim should be to build commitment to a responsive behaviour as opposed to controlling unethical behaviour though the latter should not be neglected.

Empower and Communicate for Buy-in. Develop training programmes for all sectors and sections of the nation. The theme should be the same across the board but the medium of communication should suit the target audience. Equally important, is the need to eliminate all systems, structures and procedures that create grounds for corruption.

Motivation. Recognize and reward ethical behaviour to show that values matter. Protect and reward ethical whistle-blowers. Punish offenders and confiscate illegally gained wealth.

Money should not be the primary motivator of fighting corruption. People who are appointed to offices in-charge of fighting corruption should not be paid way above the rest as a way of keeping them from being corrupt. Such perks only raise suspicions that those appointed are still pre-conventional moralists who can only act good after they have been motivated monetarily. Could this also be ‘soft corruption’?

Recommendations
On the basis of this model, I make the following recommendations:

- Ethical leaders must be appointed to positions of authority to start influencing people.
- Education programmes to raise the level of awareness and the importance of ethical practices in a society must be established.
- Ways to punish unethical practices must be instituted and must be seen to work.
- The war against unethical practices must adopt a systemic approach rather than a legalistic one.
- Religion should play a key role in raising ethical consciousness of the Kenyan society.

Conclusion
Ethical practices are very fundamental in nation building and there will be no shortcuts for developing our country both politically and economically. Finding a sustainable balance between spirited individualism and ethical decisions and actions is the heart of ethical leadership practice that promotes national development—is it also its Holy Grail? Developing virtuous people will be the challenge for all Kenyans. The recognition that ethical practices are a condition for sustainable political and economic development marks a primary shift in development thinking. The responsibility rests on all of us. Once this is done, political and economic development will not be a mirage but a reality.

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