ACCOUNTING AND THE ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION: THE CHANGE OF THE CONSTITUCIONES IN THE SAINT JOHN’S ORDER IN 1738

Juan Baños Sánchez-Matamoros
Francisco Carrasco Fenech
Universidad Pablo de Olavide
ACCOUNTING AND THE ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION: THE CHANGE OF THE CONSTITUCIONES IN THE SAINT JOHN’S ORDER IN 1738

Abstract
Accounting and religion has offered an extended branch of accounting literature. Given the wide range of values that are rooted in religious organizations, wider are the variety of religious organizations and the role of accounting. However, it hasn’t been described yet the role of individual in the spreading of accounting and accountability into a religious organization and what leads individual to enhance such change. The concept of institutional entrepreneurship can help to understand this idea. For this aim, this work resorts to the change in the Constituciones of the Saint John’s Order in the 18th century in Spain.
1. INTRODUCTION

Accounting research on religious organizations has increased, overall, in the last decade. The seminal works of Laughlin (1988) and Booth (1993) improved a distinction of two separate spheres, sacred and profane, belonging accounting to this last. Since then, different studies have found limitations to such assertions, questioning such division between sacred and profane, due to different reasons, mainly of which converge on the complexity of religious organizations (Lightbody, 2000; Parker, 2001).

In this way, several authors such as Duncan et al. (1999), Irvine (2005), or Cordery (2006) have considered the role of the beliefs system of each community to locate accounting inside. As McPhail et al. (2005) explain, different settings with dissimilar belief systems will provide a wide variety of roles played by accounting at their sacred/profane agendas. So, departing from “the potential conflict between the “sacred” mission of a church and the “secular” practice of accounting” (Irvine, 2005, p. 233; see also Abdul-Rahman and Goddard, 1998; Kuasirikun and Constable, 2010), this work questions if religious organizations are akin to welcome accounting and, overall, control techniques on their resources by religious members.

In order to understand how religious members can enhance (or not) accounting at religious organizations, disruption points or changes, can be interesting scenarios to study. In this sense, at the institutional theory there is a growing literature on the so-called paradox of embedded agency (Seo and Creed, 2002): how can actors enact changes to institutions through which they are constrained. As Burns and Baldvinsdottir (2005, p. 753) claim, institutional theory needs to shed light about “[w]hen, why and how can change emerge from institutionally embedded situations”, since it has been more likely to explain institutional stability than change (Clemens and Cook, 1999), and until recently it has been more structure-oriented, emphasizing isomorphic influences (Suddaby, 2010).

For solving the paradox of embedded agency (Seo and Creed, 2002), institutional theory resorts to the concept of institutional entrepreneurship (Battilana, et al., 2009; Suddaby, 2010; Baños et al., 2014). The institutional entrepreneurship is a member of an organization, an institution, constituted and rooted by a constellation of institutions, and so, influenced by such institutions, instigate a radical change, notwithstanding the success of such change (Battilana, 2006). “However, the study of institutional entrepreneurship has been mainly at the organizational field level of analysis, such that institutional studies have tended to neglect the individual level of analysis” (Baños et al., 2014, forthcoming). In this sense, individual acts in line with values, norms, interpretative schemas and interests, perceive and interpret situations,
and encourage and carry out intentional institutional accounting change. As a consequence, there is a need for more work on institutional individual entrepreneurs in organizations (Baños et al., 2014; see also Battilana, 2006; Battilana et al., 2009).

For such aim we analyse the changes in the management of the St John’s Order (SJO, hereafter) in 18th century, Spain. The SJO is one of the most ancient religious orders, founded in Spain in the 16th century by San Juan de Dios. Its members have to make four vows: Poverty, celibacy, compliance and, especially, hospitality towards the poorest members of the society (Santos, 1715; Gómez, 1963). To honor these vows the SJO believed that they had a significant role to fulfill outside the control of the church. It got success along the years and improved in such a way that in 1715, it attended to 96,365 patients in 256 hospitals, with 7,694 beds managed by 2,399 monks, in 18 different countries and in 3 continents (Santos, 1715).

From the first, the SJO tried to escape control of the ordinary clergy to whom the Trent Council in the 16th century required all the religious organisations to account to every year (Álvarez-Dardet et al., 2006). It got it at the middle of the 17th century, being considered, thus, as a religious order as the Jesuits (Quattrone, 2004), and being, so, obliged to render accounts only to God and the Holy See, if asked.

However, the 18th century arrived at the SJO in a state of disorder and mismanagement that could not be afforded by the top managers of the Order. Only the arrival of the Father Alonso de Jesús Ortega, supposed a change in the Rules of the SJO and the change in the management of the hospitals towards a higher concern on the control of the resources and a tighter control over the resources of the hospitals. Such change was approved by a General Meeting in 1738 and the new rules were sanctioned by the Pope in 1741. The management of the Father Alonso de Jesús Ortega increased the Order and he was chosen as General of the Order until his death, in spite that the rules established a maximum period of six years for those appointed as General.

This work aims to contribute to literature by explaining how institutional entrepreneurship can explain the change in the role of accounting, not only on companies, but, overall, in religious organizations, which are constrained by a wide range of different values, institutions, far from the those of search-for-profit organizations. In this way, permeability between the sacred and profane spheres is mediated by the accounting awareness of the members of the religious organizations. Similarly to the case studied by Lightbody (2003), managers with accounting awareness and experience acquired in non-religious or ganisations tended to blur the boundaries between sacred and profane spheres (see also Swanson and Gardner, 1988).
Going beyond this, in accordance with Irvine (2005), accounting procedures were generalised in the SJO due to the professional awareness of its General (Parker, 2001).

The SJO case represents a very interesting one for the purposes of the study. On one side, its longevity along the centuries allowed the Order to settle and develop different values, norms and attitudes which pervaded along the years, moulding and settle down different institutions. It is, so, an interesting example to solve the paradox of embedded agency (Seo and Creed, 2002). On the other side, the Father Alonso, was a member of the Order since he was a teenager, being so, moulded and embedded with the values and norms, institutions, of the SJO until he became General of the Order. Being socialised, the successor is internally stimulated to do what he has to do, so the institution constrains his behaviour (Zucker, 1977). Thus, he was an interesting example of an institutional entrepreneurship to develop the change needed (Baños et al., 2014).

For this work, we study the Adicciones (adjunctions) of the rules of the SJO established at the General Meeting of 1738 and sanctioned by the Pope in 1741. In order to verify and complete our analysis from such primary sources, we have resorted also to secondary sources.

The rest of the paper is as follows. In the next section, we describe the state of the art on the debate sacred/profane in relation to the role of accounting and how the institutional entrepreneurship can help in this way. The third section describes the main changes in the Constituciones of the O SJ, and the final section contains the discussion, the concluding remarks, the limitations and extensions of this work.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.

Accounting literature on religious organizations has improved in the last years. The seminal works of Laughlin (1988) and Booth (1993) defined a distinction of two separate spheres, sacred and profane, belonging a accounting to this last based on the belief system of the organization. Specifically, Laughlin (1988) established that accounting controls should play a significant role in those cases where sacred controls may fail or in those arenas where religious organizations should be obliged to account for their resources. Booth (1993) similarly assigned accounting to the profane. Actions are legitimated by sacred beliefs whose transcendental nature “…potentially provides a strong basis of resistance to secular management practices, such as accounting…” (Booth, 1993, p.53).
However, this dichotomy “has been seriously questioned and challenged” (Carmona and Ezzamel, 2006, p. 121; see also McPhail et al., 2005). The complexity of religious organizations has been a main reason to support such challenge (Lightbody, 2000; Parker, 2001). Such complexity may be informed by the setting analysed. In this way, it could embrace different perspectives about accounting. As Laughlin (1988) and Booth (1993) resorted to a specific setting, Jacobs pointed out: “…in other settings accounting has the potential to be sacred, to be secular or to be both sacred and secular…” (2005, P. 193). Such other settings can enrol different perceptions of accounting and its role on the religious organization due to the belief system that constitute such settings (i.e., Fonfeder et al., 2003 for the Talmud; Álvarez-Dardet et al., 2006 for the brotherhoods at Spain at the 18th century; Jacobs and Walker, 2004 for the Iona Community at Scotland at the 20th century; or Ezzamel, 2005 for the funerary practices at the Ancient Egypt).

Irvine (2002) arrived at the same conclusions on her study over the Salvation Army at England at the 19th century. As she pointed out, the “response of members of a religious organization to accounting will therefore have something to do with that organization’s historic belief system and culture, and its openness to embracing “secular” practices” (Irvine, 2002, p. 5). Accounting, thus, could be understood as a main tool for the management of the sacred, showing, so, little conflict between the sacred and the secular spheres of the religious organization. In the same way, Cordery (2006) considered the belief system as a reason to explain the relationships of accounting and religious organizations. Her study on the Methodist missionaries concluded that the belief system of this group held no contradiction between the spiritual mission and stewardship (Cordery, 2006). This is coherent with the results of Kreander et al. (2004) and Jacobs (2005) as well as with those of Fonfeder et al., (2003), on how the Talmud considered that the life should be an integral process of accountability, leading, thus, accounting as a main tool for the religious side of life.

On the analysis of the accounting procedures at the Society of Jesus, Quattrone (2004) asserted that accounting procedures were improved at the Jesuits due to the new values impressed at the doctrine of the Catholic religion by the Counter-Reformation, and more specifically, by the Council of Trent. Such doctrine was the result of theological, religious, political, social and institutional dimensions (Quattrone, 2004; see also Carmona and Ezzamel, 2006; see also Prieto et al., 2006, for the Benedictine case). Beyond the belief system, Quattrone (2004) widened the reasons to question the role played by accounting in the sacred/profane dichotomy.
In the same way, Duncan et al. (1999) analysed the variables that influence the development of internal accounting controls at 317 churches in the US. Their results “suggest that church size (one measure of church resources) as well denominational affiliation (and church polity) impact the quality of systems of internal control in local churches” (Duncan et al., 1999, p. 160). The polity of the Church must be understood on the aims pursued by such religion organization. Therefore, the religious values can appreciate accounting and should mould accounting procedures at the religious settings for their aims and perceptions (Jacobs, 2005; Jayasinghe and Soobaroyen, 2009).

The perception of the sacred/profane through the lenses of the belief system of the religious organization can shape the role of accounting, independently of the belief system. This assumption led to Álvarez-Dardet et al. (2006) to analyse the behaviour of the control process implemented by the enlightened government of Carlos III at Spain. They concluded that the “brotherhoods’ view on the rendering of accounts depended on their perceptions of the boundaries between the sacred and the profane, but they all shared a common perception that they need not justify their sacred expenses” (Álvarez-Dardet et al., 2006, p. 146).

Beyond the belief system the size or contextual influences, religious organizations with a similar perception of sacred and profane, are foundations to understand what it is sacred or profane. Accounting, so, was differently perceived, and therefore, considered. Then, it can not be asserted definitively that accounting will always play a role on a religious organization depending on the belief system, but on the perception of its members with respect to accounting.

Therefore, other issues, apart from the belief system, can be used as explanation for the role of accounting at religious organizations. The results obtained by Swanson and Gardner (1988) at the Society for Propagating the Gospell in Foreign Parts at the beginning of the 18th century are consistent in this sense. As the authors remarked, the “immediate impetus for auditing in the Society came from business and not from government… Rudimentary managerial accounting procedures emerged in the Society as a result of internal needs for planning and control in much the same way they were emerging in businesses of the period” (Swanson and Gardner, 1988, p. 446). The reasons for this massive use of accounting can be found on the members of the Society. Many of them came from the business and auditing professional world. Therefore, Swanson and Gardner recognised that the origins of the members “suggest that the Society’s audit procedures were adapted from business audit procedures” (1988, p. 444).
Accounting can, thus, influence on and be part of the sacred agendas of religious organizations. As Irvine (2005) explains, “There appeared to be no automatic assumption that money and accounting were somehow inconsistent with core religious beliefs… In addition to this, because the church was responsible for providing its own resources, resistance to accounting in principal was minimal” (Irvine, 2005, p. 233). So, the responsibility for their own resources, leaded the religious organizations to consider accounting as a main issue at their management (Irvine, 2005). Moreover, the absence of professional accountants at religious organizations is a reason to understand that the whole members of a religious organization can use and perform accounting tasks for developing their agendas (Irvine, 2005). In the same vein, for Lightbody (2003) the relationships between sacred and profane spheres can be explained, partly, because of the role played by financial managers and professional accountants at religious organizations. The results of this study show that “none of the authors denied the need for some integration of the conflicting ideologies at the level of the individual manager to enable the organisation to function effectively” (Lightbody, 2003, p. 135).

But the reasons why the members of a religious organization embraces or not accounting, being immutable the perceptions of sacred and profane, based on religious values, can be lead to conclude that religious organizations are organizations that would not adapt to the context and so, averse to change. The modification of the values of a religious organization, the cornerstone of such organizations, is, however, an option. In this sense, institutional theory offers a set of concepts to consider the change at a religious organization, departing such change from the members of such organization.

Traditionally, institutional theory has been more likely to explain institutional stability than change (Clemens and Cook, 1999; Seo and Creed, 2002). Besides, research has been excessively oriented to organizational outcomes of external influences mainly considering institutions as black boxes (Suddaby, 2010). Most of studies in institutional theory does not consider the change, and in those cases where is accepted, institutional transformation is only focused on exogenous critical events as the triggers for propelling individuals to initiate the change (Baños et al., 2014). However, research is required to fill this gap; that is, to explain how actors convert these events in change triggers (Englund and Gerdin, 2011). Thus, it is needed to focus on organizations as “interpretative mechanisms that filter, decode and translate the semiotics of broader social systems” (Suddaby, 2010, p. 19). In addition to values and norms (the normative element), institutions are also composed of regulative and cultural-cognitive elements (Scott, 2001). The regulative element involves rules, controls, procedures
and rewards/punishments established to influence behaviour, whose mechanisms can be highly formalized or not.

The cognitive element of institutions (Scott, 2001) relates to symbolic representations. Cognitive or interpretative schemas are knowledge structures whereby organizational members perceive the world; these schemas then inform members how to interpret and proceed in a certain situation (Ranson et al., 1980). In Friedland and Alford's (1991, p. 248) words, each institutional order has a "central logic—a set of material practices and symbolic constructions—which constitutes its organizing principles and which is available to organizations and individuals to elaborate". The relationship between symbolic constructions and material practices is mediated by cognitive schemas or meaning frameworks and behavioural roles—values and norms (Misangyi et al., 2008). In turn, Lounsbury and Crumley (2007, pp. 995–96) define practice as "activity patterns across actors that are infused with broader meaning and provide tools for ordering social life and activity", and institution as "sets of material activities that are fundamentally interpenetrated and shaped by broader cultural frameworks such as categories, classifications, frames, and other kinds of organized belief systems".

In institutional theory, as in religious organizations, "organizational members share values, norms and interpretative schemas, and they act according to what they consider appropriate or because they take for granted how they should act in a given situation" (Baños et al., 2014, forthcoming). Social structures are the basis of social activities reproduced over time by individuals, and are personified in activities adopting the form of habitualized behaviour and routines, which reflect the stocks of tacit knowledge shared by actors. Social structures are rules that guide action (techniques, norms and procedures) and resources (authoritative and allocative) that enable action, the means to exert power in social interaction.

Institutional research needs to focus on how new institutions are created or existing ones modified, which is deeply related to institutional entrepreneurship, which will allow as actors with enough resources to develop those interests that they value highly (DiMaggio, 1988). Institutional entrepreneurs are then actors who initiate changes that break with existing institutions and actively participate in their implementation (Battilana et al., 2009), regardless of whether that change is successful (Battilana, 2006).

Given that individual acts in line with values, norms, interpretative schemas and interests, perceive and interpret situations, and promote and carry out intentional institutional and management accounting change, there is a patent need for more work on individual
institutional entrepreneurs in organizations (Battilana, 2006; Battilana et al., 2009). And specifically in stable institutional settings, as religious organizations, where it seems to be more difficult the enhancement of the change. Therefore, if a religious order survives keeping its religious values over time, it is likely that cultural elements will persist. Being socialised, the successor of a General is internally motivated to do what he has to do, so the institution constrains his behaviour (Zucker, 1977).

Seo and Creed (2002) suggest a dialectical framework of analysis to explain radical change, based on what they refer to as institutional contradictions and human praxis. Agents have to interpret these institutional contradictions to motivate institutional change as their perception of threats and opportunities in the environment enables them to drive change (Chung and Luo, 2008). Other suggestions of institutional change’s origins related to endogenous drivers (Englund and Gerdin, 2011) are related to the reflexive analysis made by agents about the unintended consequences of previous actions carried out by them or others, analysis that actors can use to start future actions (Baños et al., 2014).

Institutional entrepreneurs mobilise different kinds of resources to support radical institutional transformation. Accounting has been showed as a resource, and so, a support to such change (Baños et al., 2014), and that as with other control systems, a completely new system can be implemented to support institutional change (Abernethy and Chua, 1996; Barley and Tolbert, 1997; Burns and Scapens, 2000). In fact, they can be employed actively and skilfully to start organizational and institutional transformations (Abrahamsson and Gerdin, 2006). Actors have the capacity to reinterpret or attribute meaning to resources to be provided with power to bring about change. Therefore scholars need to understand more properly when, why and how organizational actors make decisions about conferring on management accounting such a role on the transformation process (Burns and Baldvinsdottir, 2005).

Bearing in mind such reflections, it seems that other variables, apart from the belief system, could influence on the role played by accounting at religious organizations. Could it emerge at a religious organization an institutional entrepreneur to enhance or to diminish the role of accounting?. Being religious organizations different and apart from the rest (Jacobs, 2005), we are going to focus on a religious order, for being a good example of rooted organizations values. However, and far from the supposed immutability of the religious orders, as Prieto et al., considered,

“The accounting records kept during the eighteenth century at the Monastery of Silos indicate that the Benedictine monks employed effective tools for internal control. These were not only
capable of detecting fraud, but were also used, with great diligence, to administer their patrimony, which increased significantly, but always in keeping with what they considered to be in accordance with their individual interests and necessary to adapt to their contexts” (p. 2006, p. 245).

The reasons for such accounting system can be found on “that the accounting system was designed by people who were knowledgeable of the techniques and practices applied to financial management, and who had accumulated an unusual baggage of experience that was virtually exclusive to monastic life” (Prieto et al., 2006, p. 244). Thus, we wonder if, leaving aside the belief system, the context, or the awareness to accounting techniques actors, could be other explanations for the role played by accounting in religious organizations.

3. THE ST. JOHN’S ORDER.

Introduction.

Religious orders have always involved the evolution of the Catholic Church. Their role and influence has changed along time, and many of them do not exist nowadays. The most that survive today have evolved, being adapted to the new times. In any case, their existence is based upon that all the religious orders have a potential role to be developed inside the Church (Quattrone, 2004). The OSJ has a main target inside the Catholic Church, which has been the same for centuries, including the period under study: Support the poor people. Thus, the monks of the OSJ have four votes, the traditional three – poverty, celibacy and obedience – and, overall, hospitality towards the poorest members of the society (Gómez, 1963).

The OSJ emerged in the 16th century by his founder Saint Juan de Dios, who lived for the poor people and through his activity added more members to establish the Order. The first Constituciones (Rules) were sanctioned by the Pope in 1571 (Parra, 1757). At the first years, the most of the OSJ’s interest was concerned in getting their independence from priests and bishops, in such a way that they only should render accounts to God. In this way, 70 years after their appointment as an order, the OSJ was officially arranged as a religious order without any duty regarding the ordinary clergy (Santos, 1715).

By the years, the OSJ was improved, reaching its roles with the poor people and interestingly, with the Spanish army. In this sense, the OSJ was linked to the most famous battles of the Spanish Navy in the 16th and 17th centuries and many members of the Order were appointed as General Manager of the Army (Gómez, 1963; see also Santos, 1715). At the beginning of
the 18th century, however, the Order lost its influence over the Army, due to the change of dynasty, from the Hapsburg to the Bourbon. At the same time, a report in 1733 claimed that the OSJ was mismanaged, without order, becoming in a high risk of disappearing. Thus, in 1738 the General Meeting of the Order, decided to restore the strict fulfilment of the Rules and management of the religious organisation (Gómez, 1963). Such Meeting decided to improve the control over the activity of the members of the Order and established a reorganisation of the OSJ, developing, so, the Constituciones of 1741.

The Father Ortega.

The Father Ortega was born in 1696 and in 1713 was ordered as clergy inside the Order. Shortly, he was sent to a hospital with just one clergy. Due to the lack of clergies, he learnt everything regarding the management of a hospital, including, accounting. In 1718 he was requested to support the management of an Army Hospital in the frontier of Spain and Portugal (Navarro, 1759). He established the conditions for the infirmaries, including the methods of cures, tasks and management of the hospitals with the Intendants of the Army (Navarro, 1759). In 1719 he extended the conditions to other hospitals in the centre of the Spain. In 1720 he was appointed as the General Manager of such Army Hospitals, which covered 5 locations. In 1722 private businessmen lent the Army Hospitals and the Father Ortega rendered the accounts of his management with the approval of the Royal Treasury. In spite that the private businessmen tried to persuade him to continue as General Manager (Navarro, 1759), he was sent to a hospital of the SJO, appointed as attorney, where he ordered the finances of the hospital and recovered rents for the Order.

In 1724 he was appointed as Prior of another hospital, with debts of more than 8.000 reales. At the end of his management at this post, he had restored the infirmary; he ordered the rebuilding of the church and the construction of the rooms, cloister and the rest of dependencies for the monks, enjoying the hospital a good financial status. In 1731 he was appointed as the Prior of one of the biggest hospitals of the Order, located in Seville, where he met the just appointed General of the Order. Given to the abilities of the Father Ortega, the General appointed him as his Secretary. When he reached, with the General of the Order, to Madrid, he found a high disorder and lacked management, books, and accounts. He re-established the management and books of the Order and so, in 1733, he was appointed as Provincial of the region of Andalucía, with the task of visit 35 hospitals, which, for more than 9 years, nobody audited them. He had to restore the accounting books of most of them, “given that this belong to the good management of the resources for the power of Jesus Christ” (Father Ortega, quoted in Navarro, 1759, p. 69).
At the beginning of 1736, and due to the death of the General of the Order, he was appointed as Vicario (acting General). In 1738, he was elected as General of the Order. In spite of the Constituciones, he was re-elected twice, and in the last one, he was elected as General until his death, with the approval of the Pope, which occurred the 22nd of August, 1771. During his term, 61 hospitals were added, more than 725.000 ill people were cured and around 9.000.000 of reales were collected as alms and distributed for the poor people (Meyer, 1927). In the same way, many privileges were given by the Pope Benedictus XIV to the Order. The Spanish kings also resorted to the monks for helping to many outbreaks of illness declared in big cities. Also, many procedures were written to assist and rule the activity of the monks since they decide to go into the Order until their death. Finally, at the General Meeting at his appointment as General of the Order, in 1738, the Constituciones were changed playing a key role in the adjunctions made.

Organizational structure.

The organisational scheme of the Order was established as the figure 1 reflects. In this sense, the General was the highest authority of the Order and it was elected for one period of six years (Constituciones, 1741). After such period, in the following General Meeting, all the members should elect another General. His authority comprised the elections of the delegates for the hospitals at the Spanish colonies in America, as well as any election of other members with the definidores (definers), that is, his advising staff. The General should also visit, twice in his term, of all the hospitals of the Order in Spain. All these matters were reinforced in the Constituciones of 1741.

The definidores were elected in the General Meeting, excepting the Secretary, which was a personal decision of the General. The rest were: the Asistente Mayor (Main assistant), the Asistente Menor (Second assistant) and the Procurador (Attorney) (Constituciones, 1741), who belonged each one to a different province (Constituciones, 1741). The Provinciales, that managed the problems of the hospitals at their jurisdiction, had to make also two visits to all their hospitals at their provinces (Constituciones, 1741), and were elected for periods of six years, as the General.
Inside the hospital, the Prior was the highest authority, elected by the *definitorio* (meeting of the General and the definers) with the *Consiliario* (Adviser), as the second in the hierarchy. Other posts inside the hospital were the *Sacristan* (Sexton), nurses, a cook, and, overall at the second half of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century, doctors and surgeons, who were members of the Order.

The rules of 1741 added clear instructions regarding to the activity and daily life inside the hospital. In this way, it is disposed the dressing of the monks (*Constituciones*, 1741, pp. 13-15), the behaviour inside the dining room (p. 26), the readings during the food and also the conversations between the members of the Order (pp. 134 and 209); the timetable for the visit the ill people (p. 127), or the punishments in case of lie, theft, bribery (p. 71), or behaviours not in accordance with the votes made by the monks (pp. 76, 171 and 179).

Accounting and accountability inside the Order.

The most important issue of the adjunctions to the *Constituciones* of 1741 is related to the bookkeeping processes, at every stage. Thus, at the top level of the hierarchy, it was established a control over the rest of the OSJ. In this vein, it can be found a book which includes all the agreements of the meetings of the General and the definers (p. 48), another one for the General Meetings which must be signed by all the people that attended to them (p. 49). It was also stressed the control over the hospitals finances, in such a way that the General should run a book per each hospital with their resources and the spent money, in order to balance all the deficit hospitals with the surpluses of others (p. 51). These books should support a general accounting book for the entire Order (p. 51). Finally, there is an accounting book for the money received from different hospitals for the maintenance of the General, his staff and the Attorney at Rome. Also, the money received and spent from this source should be registered at the book with the needed receipts (p. 50).

Inside the hospital there were also run some books, which were enforced, or new at, the *Constituciones* of 1741. On one side, it was controlled the people that belonged to the hospital. Any change of any monk from one hospital to another, died, or new, was registered (pp. 33 and 82) and these changes must be sent to the General (p. 207). In the same way, doctors and surgeons hired from outside the hospital were registered on a book including their wages (p. 29). There was also a book for the control of the ill people inside the hospital that registered the room and the bed number where the person was installed, the date of entrance and the date of exit or death (p. 136), and a daily book with the new entrances and death for the control of the food (p. 127). The ill people could be received only if was approved by the Prior of the hospital (p. 129). On the other side it was reinforced the control over the resources linked to
the hospital. Thus, the monks could not have any money or good, and so all their wealth was given to the hospitals and were registered on a book (p. 78). Only with the approval of the Prior, any monk could have a minimal amount for his personal expenditure and taken from the wealth previously given to the Order (p. 79).

Inside the hospital there was a Box that was filled with the alms collected in different quests made by the monks. The Adviser, the Prior and the collectors of the money should attend when the money was taken into the Box and it was registered on a book (p. 165). The Sexton must run a book where was registered the money collected in every mass, the date and signature of the priest of every mass (p. 142), and the collected money was taken also to the Box every Friday with the assistance of the Adviser (p. 122). The Adviser must run a book for registering all the alms received in the Box, and all the money spent, which must be classified in ordinary and extraordinary expenses (p. 165). It was also run a book for the registration of the different purchases for the hospital, which must be run by the monks with such task (p. 166). The Prior could not take money from the Arch in big sums, and if so, with a licence from the Provincial or the General, and with a clear description on the reasons for such amount (p. 166).

Also, the reform of the Constituciones considered that the Prior could not sell any property of the hospital, excepting with the permission of the General and with the responsibility to reinvest the money obtained (pp. 161-162). It was forbidden at all to take out beds from the hospital (p. 101), given that depending on the rents from a hospital, it was determined the number of beds (p. 102). Finally, there was a book for the registration of the properties of the hospital (p. 163) and a book for the registration of the wills of the ill people (p. 135).

The rendering of accounts was widely developed in the adjunctions to the Constituciones of 1741. The detailed and different processes established by the Order, can lead to conclude on the special interest reflected by the OSJ in the control of the resources. Such control also was verified in the meetings. It can be distinguished two levels; the general level, and the specific one for a hospital. Thus, at the General Meetings every six years, and in the Mid-term Meeting, every three years, every hospital must render its accounts

“in such a way that everybody must be understood in their context; and the [attendees] must take care that every Prior who developed his tasks, improving the Hospitals or making changes for the blessing of the poor and the Religious, should be rewarded in accordance with their concerns in order to move them to a higher work; and in the contrary sense with those that did not improve the managed Hospital, being hardly punished those Priors with doubts in his accounts, or with debts, and more if the debts had not the license from the General” (p. 40).
Those rewarded Priors were appointed for higher posts at the Order (p. 54) and the definers, being one per each province, allowed for report to the General about the abilities of the Prior to be selected for such higher post (p. 69).

At the local level, every hospital was verified, at least, four times in every period of six years, two times by the General and another two by the Provincial (p. 65 and 73). The inspection process was quite detailed and hard, and it was written a handbook for the verification, which was added to the Constituciones of 1741. The adjunctions of the Constituciones remarked the relevance of the control of the money: “the General, Commissioner, or Provincial have, at the time of the visit, to take the accounts of the Hospital, and the alms and expenses” (p. 77). The visit covered:

“If the God Law is preserved, and our Rules; how is the work with the poor, if are received all that come and if they are treated with the required care; if the Doctors and Surgeons attend at the established hours, if the medicines are delivered… if the Monks fulfil the Pray and the Holy Host; how the Monks keep up their poorness, fasting and withdrawals; if the wealth of the poor are managed in a good way; if the accounts book are updated daily; and finally, if the Monks are a good example on the street, with the rest needed to improve the Hospitals, and listened to every one, it can be punished that one that deserved” (p. 75).

For those hospitals in the colonies, the modified Constituciones disposed that a meeting of the definers with the General should decide for three Commissioners with authority to solve and correct all the bad matters there (p. 73). Also, it was controlled the knowledge of the monks in moral theology and all the matters related to masses (p. 119).

In the same vein, the adjunctions to the Constituciones considered that every month, there should be a meeting inside the hospital to render accounts to every member of the hospital. The meetings should lead to

“consider every matter related to the improvement of the Hospital, and to inquire if everybody fulfil their tasks, and the rest issues related to the management of the Hospital, and its money flows, given that for such information, these meetings are quite interesting, as are in the Palaces and Great Houses of Noble People… those that have more meetings, better is their management” (p. 24).
4. ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS.

This study has dealt with the relationships of accounting and religion. The accounting literature has grown, overall, by criticizing the seminal works by Laughlin (1988) and Booth (1993) that established a difference between the sacred and the secular spheres belonging accounting to this one. Departing from the idea that different settings can lead to a wide variety of conclusions on such difference (Jacobs, 2005), the belief system was also considered as the reason to understand such mix of accounting’s roles (Irvine, 2002; Fonfeder et al., 2003; Kreander et al.; 2004; Cordery, 2006). Therefore, the religious values can appreciate accounting and should mould accounting procedures at the religious settings for their aims and perceptions (Jacobs, 2005; Jayasinghe and Soobaroyen, 2009).

Beyond the belief system the size or contextual influences, religious organizations with a similar perception of sacred and profane are foundations to understand what is sacred or profane. Accounting, so, was differently perceived and therefore considered. In this way, the results of Swanson and Gardner (1988) conclude that accounting can play a key role in the religious organizations, or as Irvine (2005) states, “because the church was responsible for providing its own resources, resistance to accounting in principal was minimal” (Irvine, 2005, p. 233; see also Lightbody, 2003).

The SJO case is an extraordinary example of how accounting got rooted into the values of a religious organization, overall, by the influence of the General of the Order. In this sense, the role of the members of a religious organization can lead to move the different spheres of the sacred and the profane, and consider accounting as a key factor for the development of their sacred mission.

Interestingly, the SJO can be explained, and it can enhance the influence of, the role of the institutional entrepreneur (Battilana, 2006). More than two hundred years after its foundation, with a clear idea of avoiding the control of the ordinary clergy over its resources and the core values established in helping the poor and leading their service towards the poorest members of the society (Gómez, 1963), the SJO was, in the first years of the 18th century, an establishment with a huge size: more than 2,000 monks at 256 hospitals in 18 different countries and in three continents (Santos, 1715; Navarro, 1759). The cognitive element of the SJO (Scott, 2001) relates to symbolic representations. Cognitive or interpretative schemas are knowledge structures whereby organizational members perceive the world; these schemas inform members how to interpret and proceed in a certain situation (Ranson et al., 1980). We
can assert, definitively, that the institutionalization process of the Order influenced its context and members.

The institutionalization of the SJO members influenced largely their interpretative schemas and how to act in any given situation (Baños et al., 2014). In this way, the Father Ortega, who enrolled the Order when he was 14 years old, was deeply influenced by the values, norms and interpretative schemas of the SJO. In fact, after 25 years as member of the SJO, he became General, being influenced and embedded in his life by the SJO.

But just after his appointment as General the Order suffered a huge change towards a higher weight of accounting and the render of accounts. The Father Ortega became the actor that instigated the change, the institutional entrepreneur (Battilana, 2006). Based on Seo and Creed (2002) suggestion, the human praxis of the Father Ortega leaded him to interpret the institutional contradictions that he found in the absence of order and accounts at the different hospitals, and so to motivate institutional change as his perception of threats and opportunities in the environment enabled him to drive change (Chung and Luo, 2008). As DiMaggio (1988) considered, the Father Ortega should be an actor with enough resources to develop those interests that he valued highly. Soon, after his appointment as General Manager of army hospitals (Navarro, 1759), he learnt differently from the rest of the members of the Order, and he understood the need to report carefully and detailed for the government. In this way, he took into practice the need to recover the resources that belonged to the Order because, as he asserted, “this belong to the good management of the resources for the pours of Jesus Christ” (Navarro, 1759, p. 69). The Father Ortega considered the need to change something from his posts in the Order since he was an institutional entrepreneur, auditing and restoring accounting records of the different hospitals to know exactly how they were run (Navarro, 1759).

As institutional entrepreneur, the Father Ortega mobilised different resources to support the change needed at the Order and resorted to accounting and accountability processes as the main way to restore the status and size of the Order (Abernethy and Chua, 1996; Barley and Tolbert, 1997; Burns and Scapens, 2000) from the different posts that he had, but, overall, after his appointment as General and at the following General Meeting (Navarro, 1759). In this way, the Additions to the Constituciones clearly remark a special emphasis on the rendering of accounts from the Prior up and down. Up to the visits made by the General and the Provincial and the General Meetings and down every month to the rest of members of his hospitals. Moreover, at the General Meetings, it was established a prize/punishment system for the
improving of the size of the hospitals, considering, thus, the value and use of the accountability systems of the SJO.

Summing up, the SJO case has showed how, at religious organizations as embedded institutions, actors could mobilise the resources needed to enhance a change, playing accounting a main role in such a change. As Baños et al. (2014) considered, the efficiency gaps mediated by the cognitive schemes of the Father Ortega lead him to, through the human praxis, enable a radical change in spite of the values rooted in the Order for centuries before. In this sense, the SJO is an example of how accounting belongs to the sacred sphere of life being tied to the heart of the Order.
5. BIBLIOGRAPHY


Navarro, D. (1759), Relación Histórico-Panegírica de las Fiestas de Dedicación del Magnífico Templo de la Purísima Concepción de Nuestra Señora...Madrid: Imprenta de Francisco Xavier García.


