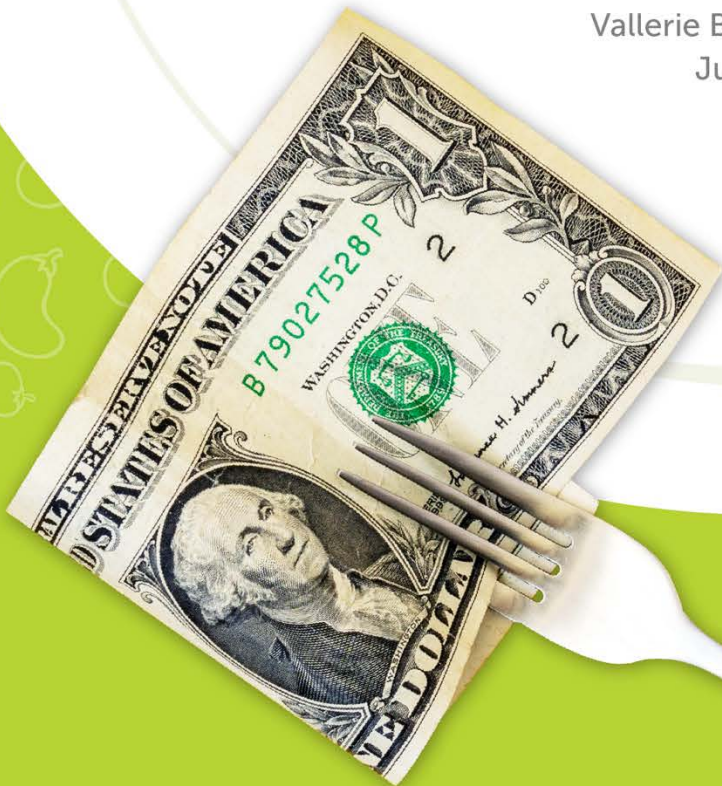


Food (In)Security

A Data Snapshot

Vallerie Blakely Vallecillo
June 2025



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About the Instituto del Desarrollo de la Juventud

The Instituto del Desarrollo de la Juventud (IDJ) is the only nonpartisan organization in Puerto Rico dedicated to advocating for public policies at both federal and local levels to strengthen the economic security of families with children and young people. The IDJ uses data, research, and the voices of families and youth as the foundation for its advocacy efforts, public policy analysis, technical assistance, and impact evaluation. The primary goal is to substantially reduce child poverty in Puerto Rico.

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@IDJ.PR



@ldj_pr



@IDJ_PR

787-931-7229

655 Roberto H. Todd Ave.
PMB 132 San Juan, PR 00907

800 Roberto H. Todd Ave.
Suite 104 San Juan, Puerto Rico

Overview

Studies on food security suggest that the rate of food insecurity in Puerto Rico fluctuates between 30% and 50%. According to estimates from the Food Insecurity Index of the Socioeconomic Survey of Families with Children in Puerto Rico (ESeFaM), 64% of households reported having at least one difficulty feeding themselves during the past 12 months, while 10% of households with children experienced extreme food insecurity. The data suggest that there is a segment of families with children and working-age heads of households experiencing food insecurity. In Puerto Rico, it is estimated that food produced locally accounts for less than 15% of the food consumed. Additionally, the poverty rate is 40% for the overall population and 54% specifically for children. There are four federal programs in Puerto Rico aimed at supplementing food needs. The government of Puerto Rico does not currently have any state-funded programs aimed at reducing food insecurity, nor has it taken concerted action to ensure that families have enough to eat. Poverty is one of the most important factors contributing to food insecurity. The solution requires supporting economic mobility for families through income-increasing policies.



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Introduction

There is a segment of families with children and working-age heads of households experiencing food insecurity. The discussion around food insecurity is particularly important for Puerto Rican society, because (1) Puerto Rico is estimated to produce less than 15% of the food it consumes; (2) the overall poverty rate stands at 40% and 54% for children; and (3) the government of Puerto Rico has no state-funded programs to reduce food insecurity and has not taken concerted action to ensure food access for families.

Although Puerto Rico lacks an official measure of food insecurity, this does not mean that Puerto Ricans are exempt from experiencing it. Multiple studies on the subject suggest that the rate of food insecurity in Puerto Rico fluctuates between 30% and 50%. For comparison, the Economic Research Service (ERS) of the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) reports that the food insecurity rate in the United States was 12.2% from 2021 to 2023, based on a three-year average. The rate rises to 18% in households with children. The state with the highest percentage for those same years was Arkansas at 19%, followed by Texas at 17%. Using the Food Security Index from the Socioeconomic Survey of Families with Children (ESeFaM), estimates show that 64% of households reported difficulty accessing food at least once in the past 12 months. Additionally, 10% of households with children experienced extreme food insecurity. The data suggest that there is a subset of families with children and working-age heads of households experiencing food insecurity. The problem stems from the fact that the government of Puerto Rico does not have state-funded programs to reduce food insecurity, nor has it taken concerted action to ensure food for families.

In 2020, the agricultural industry in Puerto Rico amounted to approximately \$800 million, or 0.62% of the archipelago's gross domestic product (Puerto Rico PYs 2024-2027, p. 313). Puerto Rico has five programs aimed at supplementing food needs: (1) the Nutrition Assistance Program (NAP); (2) the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC); (3) the Summer Electronic Benefits Transfer (Summer EBT); (4) school lunch programs, and (5) school breakfast programs. All five programs operate entirely on federal funding, with a budget of \$3.3 million (for FY 2023-2024). While 47% of households in Puerto Rico participate in the NAP, this percentage rises to 58% for households with children. This percentage represents approximately 173,739 families with children. WIC serves 87,747 infants, children, and women, while school lunch and breakfast programs serve 162,969 and 46,795 participants, respectively. According to the Administration for Socioeconomic Development of the Family (ADSEF, by its Spanish acronym), the Summer EBT program is expected to have 330,000 students participate in the summer of 2025 (El Vocero, 2025).



BOX I: NAP PARTICIPATION

- Of all households participating in NAP, 68% live below the poverty threshold.
- A total of 19% of households in Puerto Rico, despite living below the poverty line, do not participate in NAP.
- The median annual income of families receiving NAP is \$14,202.
- Among households participating in NAP, 59% of them have at least one employed person.
- Among households participating in NAP, 56% have at least one person with functional diversity and/or a disability. Among the population of children aged 0 to 17 participating in NAP, 12% have a functional diversity and/or disability (PRCS 2023).

Note: The Puerto Rico Community Survey (PRCS) includes six questions on disability covering: auditory, visual, cognitive, ambulatory, self-care, and independent living, which vary according to the age of the respondent. Questions about hearing and visual impairment are asked about individuals of all ages, while questions about cognitive, mobility, and self-care difficulties are asked of individuals starting at age 5. Questions about difficulty living independently are asked of individuals aged 15 and older. <https://www.disabilitystatistics.org/data-source-guides/on-this-site>

In terms of food availability, the archipelago relies on imports from 56 countries worldwide, with the United States being its main supplier. On average, food travels approximately 2,810 miles from its point of origin to the consumer (Rico, 2022; Hernández et al., 2017, p. 122). Multiple risk factors increase the vulnerability of Puerto Rico's food supply chains. Factors such as (1) long maritime distances from shipping ports, (2) centralized handling at certain ports, (3) high dependence on imported agricultural supplies and food, (4) a continued decline in local agricultural production, and (5) maritime routes that overlap with Caribbean hurricane paths, characterize the food market in Puerto Rico and jeopardize the population's food security (Hernández et al., 2017, p. 122). Equally important is the fact that Puerto Rico has a high percentage of households participating in NAP. Because NAP operates as a block grant, it does not include a disaster response plan. In terms of stability, Puerto Rico's lack of access to D-SNAP, unlike other U. S. jurisdictions, represents a greater vulnerability for the population in the event of a natural disaster.

What Is Food Security?

According to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social, and economic access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and preferences. The FAO proposes that food needs should be addressed across four pillars: availability, access, utilization or the safety and nutritional quality of the food consumed, and the stability of food production and distribution systems (FAO, 2016).

Food security is a multifaceted concept encompassing four key elements:

1. **Availability:** Sufficient food must be consistently available to all people. This includes food production, distribution, and exchange.
2. **Access:** People must have adequate resources to obtain foods appropriate for a nutritious diet. This implies economic and physical access to food.
3. **Utilization:** The appropriate use of food, grounded in knowledge of nutrition and basic care, as well as the proper use of water and sanitation. This ensures the body can effectively absorb the nutrients from the food consumed.
4. **Stability:** Food security must be maintained over time. This means that people must have access to adequate food at all times, without the risk of losing access due to sudden crises (e.g., economic crises, natural disasters) or cyclical events (e.g., seasonal food shortages).

Food security is operationally measured using a variety of methods and tools that assess each of its dimensions. The main difference is that some approaches use microeconomic data reported by households, while others rely on aggregate economic data. The most common approaches include:

1. **Household surveys:** These surveys collect data on food access, availability, and utilization.
2. **Food availability indicators:** These measure the quantity of food available in a region or country, including agricultural production, imports, and food reserves.
3. **Food availability indicators:** These assess people's ability to obtain food, taking into account economic factors such as income and food prices.
4. **Food utilization indicators:** These analyze how food is used, including diet quality, food preparation, and distribution within the household.
5. **Stability indicators:** These measure consistency in food access over time, considering factors such as natural disasters, political instability, and economic fluctuations.
6. **Synthetic indices:** Some studies use synthetic indices that combine multiple indicators to provide a more comprehensive picture of food security.

How Has Food Security Been Measured in Puerto Rico?

The U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) defines food insecurity as a household-level economic and social condition of limited or uncertain access to adequate food (Food Insecurity - Healthy People 2030 | Health.gov). Food security in the United States is measured annually through the Current Population Survey (CPS), using the special CPS Food Security Supplement (FSS). Although the CPS is a monthly survey, the standardized food security question module is administered annually, usually in the month of December. This module was developed by the USDA in 1995 and has been used ever since to assess a household's economic access to food. The FSS uses a set of 18 questions (or 10 questions if there are no children in the household) that evaluates conditions and behaviors related to insufficient access to food due to limited economic resources. Based on the responses, households are classified into four categories:

1. **High Food Security:** No problems or concerns regarding food access.
2. **Marginal Food Security:** Some concerns or problems, but no noticeable changes in diet or food intake.
3. **Food Insecurity Without Hunger (Low Food Security):** Reduced quality, variety, or desirability of diet.
4. **Food Insecurity With Hunger (Very Low Food Security):** Reduced food quantity and disrupted eating patterns.

These categories are determined quantitatively based on the number of affirmative responses:

- **0–2 affirmative responses:** Food Security
- **3–7 (without children) or 3–5 (with children):** Food Insecurity Without Hunger
- **8–10 (no children) or 6–10 (with children):** Food Insecurity With Hunger

Although the FSS is conducted at the national level, it does not always provide reliable state-level estimates due to limited sample sizes in individual states. The state-level food security estimates published by the USDA are typically based on multi-year averages (e.g., three years) to improve precision. Puerto Rico is not included in the CPS or the annual Food Security Module. This has prompted multiple sectors to attempt to develop a measure that approximates an understanding of food security conditions for families in Puerto Rico. In 2019, the Puerto Rico Institute of Statistics published a report on food security in Puerto Rico's adult population. The institute committed to continuing its efforts and publishing a follow-up report in 2021. As of this writing, the follow-up report was still unavailable. The report estimated that 33.2% of the population of Puerto Rico aged 18 and older experienced food insecurity that year. This report and its estimates are based on a modified version of the U.S. Department of Agriculture's (USDA) food security survey. This version was adapted in 2015 and included as a

supplement to the Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System (BRFSS) survey conducted by the Puerto Rico Department of Health. Additionally, Instituto Nueva Escuela and George Washington University published the report Food Nutritional Security in Puerto Rico: Pre and Post Coronavirus (2020). This report is based on a survey of 1,356 households and estimated that 40% of participants experienced food insecurity during the COVID-19 pandemic, compared to 38% pre-pandemic (Colón-Ramos, Ostolaza, & Rosas, 2020). The Puerto Rico Food Bank has also made various efforts to obtain a measure of the state of food security in Puerto Rico. A study conducted by the nonprofit organization, the only Feeding America member in the archipelago, estimated that in Puerto Rico, 30% of the population experiences food insecurity, a percentage that rises to 50% among the elderly and children (Hernández-Cabiya, 2024). Equally important is the fact that the Department of Agricultural Economics at the University of Puerto Rico, Mayagüez Campus, is currently developing a website on food security in Puerto Rico. Although these studies and estimates exist, it is important to note that they employ different definitions of food security and are therefore not necessarily comparable.

How Does ESeFaM Measure Food Insecurity?

The Instituto del Desarrollo de la Juventud (IDJ, by its Spanish acronym) commissioned the Socioeconomic Survey of Families with Children in Puerto Rico (ESeFaM). The ESeFaM was administered through home visits in collaboration with Ipsos, a survey firm. The sample is representative of families with children and youth between the ages of 0 and 17 whose annual income is equal to or less than \$35,000 and whose head of household is under 60 years of age. This survey, administered twice (in 2022 and 2024), includes a section designed to measure food security among families with the aforementioned characteristics. In 2024, the sample consisted of 780 families. The section contains six questions. Two are answered using a three-point scale (“often,” “sometimes,” or “never”), and the other four require a “yes” or “no” response. All questions take into account the past 12 months (one year) and, when considered together, provide a measure of food insecurity, assessing factors ranging from insufficient money for a balanced diet to going 24 hours without eating (see Box II).





BOX II: ESEFAM FOOD SECURITY QUESTIONS

1. In the past 12 months, did the food purchased for your household not last long enough, and was there no money available to buy more? Would you say this happened often, sometimes, or never? (Often, sometimes, or never)
2. Considering a balanced meal as: a healthy diet or one that provides the nutrients the body needs to function properly, preserve or restore health, and minimize the risk of disease. It should include fruits, vegetables, grains, proteins, and dairy. In the past 12 months, were you unable to eat balanced meals due to a lack of money? Would you say this happened often, sometimes, or never? (Often, sometimes, or never)
3. In the past 12 months, were there times when you have had to cut the size of your meals or skip one of your daily meals due to a lack of money? (Yes or No)
4. In the past 12 months, did you eat less than you felt you should because there was not enough money to buy food? (Yes or No)
5. In the last 12 months, were you ever hungry, but didn't eat, because there wasn't enough money for food? (Yes or No)
6. In the last 12 months, were there times when you did not eat for a whole day (24 hours) because there was not enough money for food? (Yes or No)

These questions can be analyzed individually, separately, as a whole, or in part. That is, each question independently yields representative data. At the same time, a Food Security Index can be constructed using the full set of six questions based on the frequency or number of affirmative responses provided by each respondent. The questions in the food security section of the ESeFaM survey are designed to measure only food insecurity. To generate a food insecurity estimate, we developed three categories based on the severity of the premise asked of respondents:

1. **Food Security:** A family is considered food secure when the responses to all six questions indicate that they never experienced difficulty accessing food or eating balanced meals and never had to reduce food quantities or go without eating (two "never" responses and four "no" responses).

2. **Food Insecurity:** This score considers the answers to all six questions. The respondent answered “sometimes” or “often” to questions one and two, and “yes” to questions three through six. This category indicates that the respondent was sometimes or often unable to eat balanced meals due to insufficient food. There were occasions when smaller portions were served and/or less food was consumed. It also includes instances when the respondent was hungry but did not eat, as well as occasions when the respondent went without food for a full day (24 hours).
3. **Extreme Food Insecurity:** This classification is based solely on responses to questions one, two, four, and six. The respondent answered that food often did not last long enough and they were unable to eat balanced meals, and/or there were times when they were hungry and did not eat, and/or there were occasions when the respondent went without food for a full day (24 hours).
4. Food Insecurity Index, with values ranging from 0 to 8.
 - Severity can be understood as the number of affirmative responses from one person to the six questions.
 - The index takes on values ranging from 0 to 8 by adding up the values of the responses to the six questions. For the responses “never,” “sometimes,” and “often,” values of 0, 1, and 2 are assigned, respectively. A score of 0 indicates no signs of food insecurity; a score of 8 indicates all signs of food insecurity are present.



According to the 2024 ESeFaM Questions on **Food Insecurity**



El **59%** of respondents reported that sometimes or often the food purchased in their household did not last long enough and there was no money to buy more food.

59%



El **42%** of respondents reported that sometimes or often they were unable to eat balanced meals due to a lack of money.

42%



On average, **23%** of households reported having experienced food restrictions during the year due to economic reasons.

23%



Food Restrictions Due to Economic Insufficiency

- 31%** There were times when they had to cut down the size of a meal or skip one of their daily meals due to a lack of money
- 34%** Consumed less food than they felt they should because there was not enough money to buy it
- 18%** There were times when they were hungry, but did not eat, because there was not enough money for food
- 8%** There were times when they did not eat food for a whole day (24 hours) because there was not enough money to buy food

Food Insecurity Categories

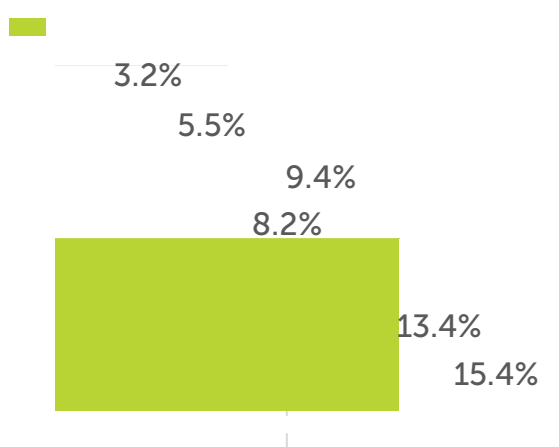
Based on the analysis of food insecurity categories, 36% of surveyed families demonstrate food security, while 64% experience food insecurity. Of the 64% that reported some form of food insecurity, 41% experience extreme food insecurity.

Food Security Index

According to the Food Security Index, 10% of families show extreme food insecurity and 64% show at least one indication of food insecurity (**Figure 4**). The mean index is 2 and the standard deviation is 2. In other words, the vast majority of families fall between 0 and 4 on the food insecurity scale. Using two standard deviations above the mean as a threshold, scores of 6 or higher could be considered indicative of extreme food insecurity. This represents 1 in 10 families.



1 in 10 families demonstrate **extreme food insecurity**

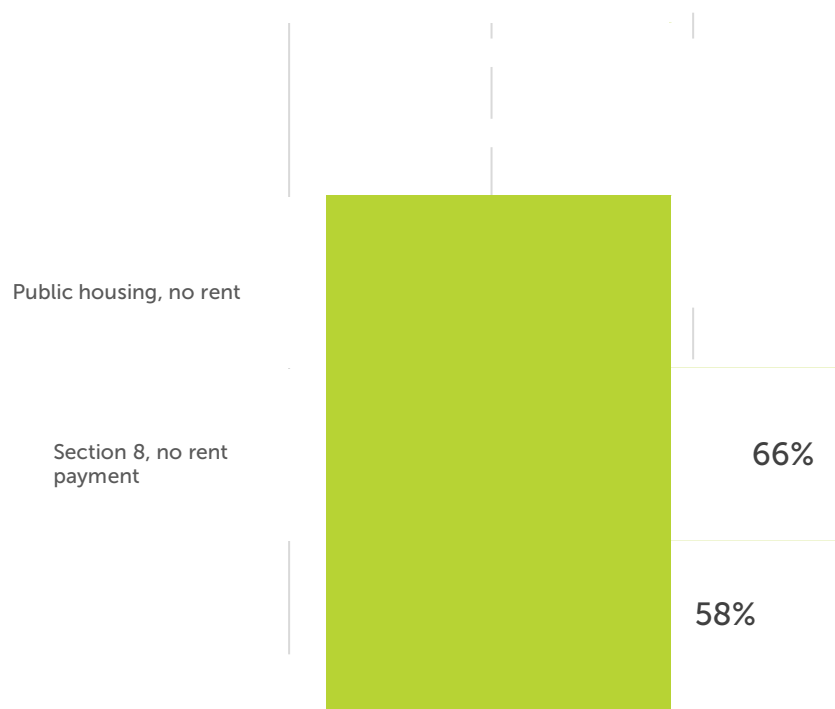


Factors Associated with Food Insecurity

The relationship between food security and different variables was examined using chi-square and t-tests for difference in means. The following section discusses only those that were statistically significant.

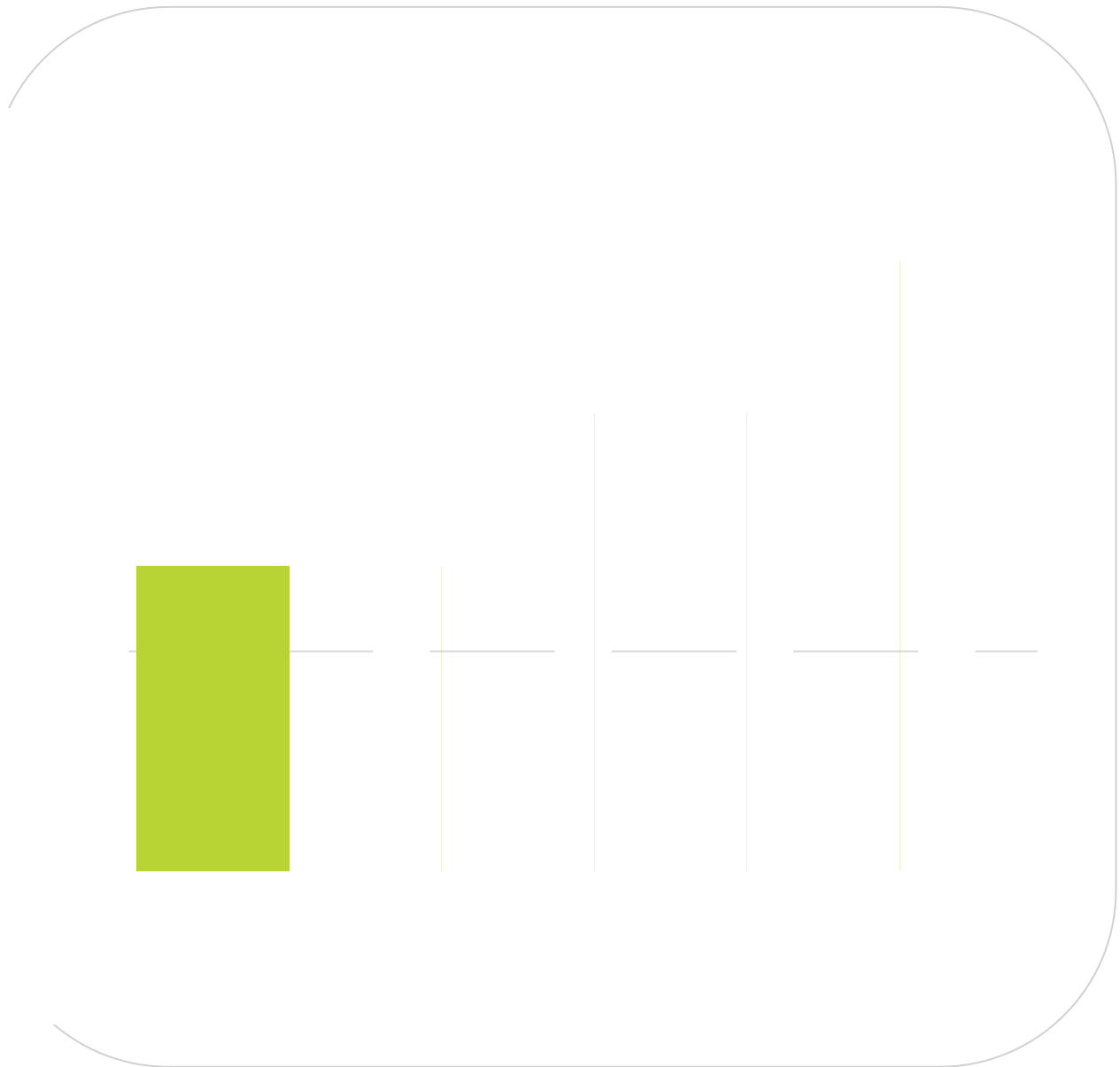
Households receiving Section 8 housing assistance and public housing residents who pay rent experience the highest levels of food insecurity (**Figure 5**). Among households receiving Section 8 housing subsidies to pay rent, 70% experience food insecurity, a figure that rises to 78% among those in public housing who pay rent.

Figure 5: Food Insecurity According to Housing Situation



Another equally important finding was the significant relationship between food insecurity among heads of households and self-reported health perception. **Figure 6** shows that the better the perception of health (on a scale of 5), the lower the food insecurity. Conversely, as the perception of health worsens, the higher the percentage of food insecurity.

For example, among individuals who reported excellent health, 50% experience food insecurity. However, 100% of those who perceived their health as very poor, experience health insecurity.



The employment status of the head of the household is closely linked to food insecurity. According to the ESeFaM analysis, 71% of individuals who were unemployed experience food insecurity, compared to 58% of those who were employed; a difference of 13 percentage points (**Figure 7**).

Figure 7: Food Insecurity of the Head of Household According to Employment Status

Similarly, there is a significant correlation between food insecurity and income. There is a 13% difference in the percentage of food insecurity between those who reported having some income and those who reported having no income (**Figure 8**). Out of those who reported receiving income, 55% experienced food insecurity. This figure rose to 68% among those who received no income.

Figure 8: Food Insecurity Among Heads of Household by Income



68%

Some of these differences were also observed using the Food Security Index scale of 0 to 8. The Food Insecurity Index also revealed greater food insecurity among self-employed individuals. Based on the t-test analysis, the mean food insecurity score for self-employed individuals is 2.11, compared to a mean of 1.83 for salaried workers.



Factors Associated with Food Insecurity

The relationship between food security and different variables was examined using chi-square and t-tests for difference in means.

Among individuals who reported excellent health, **50%** experience food insecurity. However, **100%** of those who perceived their health as very poor experience food insecurity.

Food Insecurity of the Head of Household According to their Self-Perceived Health



Health Perception

100%

71% of unemployed individuals experienced food insecurity, compared to **58%** of those who were employed—a difference of 13 percentage points.

Employability and Food Insecurity

58% vs. 71%

Households participating in Section 8 in private housing and public residents—both paying rent—have the highest levels of food insecurity. Among households that pay rent with a Section 8 subsidy, **70%** show food insecurity; while 78% of those in public housing who pay rent show food insecurity.

Housing and Food Insecurity

70% & 78%

There is a significant correlation between food insecurity and income. There is a 13% difference in the percentage of food insecurity between those who reported having some income and those who reported having no income. Out of those who reported receiving income, **55%** experienced food insecurity. This figure rose to **68%** among those who received no income.

Income and Food Insecurity

55% vs. 68%

Based on the t-test analysis of the Food Security Index, the mean food insecurity of self-employed individuals is **2.11**, compared to an average of **1.83** for salaried workers.

Self-employed

2.11 vs. 1.83



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Public Policy Recommendations

The solution to eradicating food insecurity is not only found in increased federal funding or stipends. It requires a comprehensive strategy that guarantees economic security and continuous access to nutritious food.

1. **Adjustments to nutritional benefits:** Improve the NAP nutritional assistance benefits and ensure a timely and effective response to natural disasters, as these events consistently worsen food insecurity among families.
2. **Reduce the benefit cliff:** Families who start generating income are often penalized by a drastic loss of benefits. To prevent families with children or families transitioning into work from falling into food insecurity, it is necessary to establish gradual transition strategies and review income limits for all benefit programs.
3. **Increase access to local food production:** Promote and support local agriculture through an initiative that supplies school cafeterias and small markets, for example. This ensures that families have access to fresh, affordable products while reducing dependence on imports that are susceptible to disruptions.
4. **Education:** Promote educational efforts on the value of agriculture. School cafeterias, senior centers, and other health-related events can serve as spaces to educate the public about the benefits of local foods, how they are produced, and how to consume them. Likewise, it is important to raise awareness about the current NAP regulations, which allow agricultural workers to receive this benefit.
5. **Promote community and academic initiatives:** Raise awareness and support the work of community organizations such as El Banco de Alimentos, El Comedor de la Kennedy, Comedores Sociales, and community cooperatives, among others. Organizations that provide direct support to communities and families. These efforts must have stable funding and technical support to expand their impact and sustain their work.
6. **Economic mobility through income-increasing policies:** The root cause of food insecurity is poverty, and the solution is to improve the economic situation of families. A stronger effort should be made to promote policies based on a framework of high-quality employment opportunities that increase family income. These policies should include programs that open the way to better jobs, career training, employment incentives, access to childcare, and other forms of support for parents and caregivers, with the goal of breaking the cycle of poverty that many families find themselves in.



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