

October 2024



FORTALECEMOS  
LAS DEMOCRACIAS  
DE AMÉRICA LATINA

STRENGTHENING  
DEMOCRACIES  
IN LATIN AMERICA

# The "Second Floor" of the Fourth Transformation: Key Figures in Claudia Sheinbaum's New Administration



# The "Second Floor" of the Fourth Transformation

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On October 1st, **Claudia Sheinbaum took office as president for the 2024-2030 term**, after winning the June 2nd election with 59.75% of the votes. In her inaugural speech, she emphasized the **continuation of the Fourth Transformation initiated by Andrés Manuel López Obrador (AMLO)**, focusing on republican austerity, promoting public infrastructure developments, attracting investments to boost nearshoring, and strengthening trade relations.

To achieve her goals, **she introduced the cabinet that will support her in building the "Second Floor" of the Fourth Transformation**. The Executive Branch will consist of **21 government secretariats**, filled by officials from both AMLO's administration and her own government in Mexico City. The cabinet members were selected based on their technical and professional backgrounds.

**Who are the key players in this new power structure?** To answer this, we provide an in-depth look at the new cabinet. We also assess the **cabinet members' ties to the two leading figures of MORENA: the current president and former president AMLO**, to better understand the underlying alignments and loyalties within the cabinet.

We also explore the **balance of power in Congress**, a crucial element for advancing the government's legislative agenda. This includes passing the constitutional amendments proposed by AMLO before his departure, as well as future reforms that Sheinbaum is expected to pursue during her term.

# Cabinet structure



**CLAUDIA SHEINBAUM**  
President of the Republic

## Loyalty of the official

- Closest to AMLO
- Closest to Sheinbaum



**OMAR GARCÍA HARFUCH**  
Secretariat of Security and Citizen Protection



**ROGELIO RAMÍREZ DE LA O**  
Secretariat of Finance and Public Credit



**MARCELO EBRARD**  
Secretariat of Economy



**ROSA ICELA RODRÍGUEZ**  
\*Secretariat of the Interior



**JUAN RAMÓN DE LA FUENTE**  
Secretariat of Foreign Affairs



**DAVID KERSHENOBICH**  
Secretariat of Health



**MARATH BOLAÑOS**  
Secretariat of Labor and Social Welfare



**ARIADNA MONTIEL**  
Secretariat of Welfare



**ALICIA BÁRCENA**  
Secretariat of Environment and Natural Resources



**CLAUDIA CURIEL DE ICAZA**  
Secretariat of Culture



**RAQUEL BUENROSTRO**  
Secretariat of Public Administration



**RICARDO TREVILLA TREJO**  
Secretariat of National Defense



**RAYMUNDO MORALES**  
Secretariat of the Navy



**LUZ ELENA GONZÁLEZ ESCOBAR**  
Secretariat of Energy



**CITLALLI HERNÁNDEZ**  
Secretariat of Women



**JOSEFINA RODRÍGUEZ ZAMORA**  
Secretariat of Tourism



**JESÚS ESTEVA MEDINA**  
Secretariat of Infrastructure, Communications, and Transportation



**MARIO DELGADO**  
Secretariat of Public Education



**JULIO BERDEGUÉ**  
Secretariat of Agriculture and Rural Development



**ROSAURO RUÍZ GUTIÉRREZ**  
Secretariat of Science, Humanities, Technology, and Innovation



**EDNA VEGA RANGEL**  
Secretariat of Agrarian, Territorial, and Urban Development



**ERNESTINA GODOY**  
Legal Counsel of the Federal Executive Branch

\*In the event of the president's absence, the Secretary of the Interior assumes the duties of the Executive Branch.

# Expanded cabinet

## LÁZARO CÁRDENAS BATEL

Head of the Office of the Presidency



Bachelor's degree in Ethnohistory. He served as special advisor to the Presidency of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC, in Spanish) from 2023 to 2024. He comes from the administration of Andrés Manuel López Obrador (AMLO), where he was his Coordinator of Advisors from 2018 to 2023.



**CLAUDIA SHEINBAUM**  
President of the Republic



## JOSÉ PEÑA MERINO

Agency for Digital Transformation and Telecommunications\*

Ph.D. in Political Science and data analysis specialist. He was in charge of the Digital Agency for Public Innovation (ADIP, in Spanish) in Mexico City during Sheinbaum's administration (2018-2023).



**MARCELO EBRARD**  
Secretariat of Economy



**ROGELIO RAMÍREZ DE LA O**  
Secretariat of Finance and  
Public Credit



**DAVID KERSHENOBICH**  
Secretariat of Health



**PENDING**  
Federal Commission for the  
Protection against Sanitary  
Risks (COFEPRIS, in  
Spanish)



**CLAUDIA CURIEL DE ICAZA**  
Secretariat of Culture



**ALTIGRACIA GÓMEZ**  
Business Advisory Council

Lawyer with additional training in Finance and Negotiation.

She comes from the private sector and is the president of the PEO Business Group, which comprises companies in the food, automotive, logistics, storage, and finance sectors.

Her appointment aims to attract investments and promote nearshoring.



**ANTONIO MARTÍNEZ DAGNINO**  
Tax Administration Service  
(SAT, in Spanish)

Accountant and Master's in Finance. He served as the head of the SAT during AMLO's administration.

Previously, he was the director of the General Administration of Large Taxpayers within the same institution. He also worked at the National Banking and Securities Commission (CNBV, in Spanish) and has experience in the private sector.



**ZOÉ ROBLEDO**  
Mexican Social Security  
Institute (IMSS, in Spanish)

Master's in Law. He served as General Director of the IMSS and was responsible for the transformation program of the national health system IMSS-Bienestar, acting as president of its Board of Directors during AMLO's administration (2019-2024).

He was reappointed as General Director of the IMSS for Sheinbaum's term.



**ALEJANDRO SVARCH**  
IMSS-Bienestar

Surgeon with a specialty in Internal Medicine and a master's degree in Public Health.

Since 2021, he served as the head of COFEPRIS during AMLO's presidency. During his tenure, he focused on restructuring the agency, digitizing registration processes, and combating internal corruption within the entity.



**DANIELA ALATORRE BENARD**  
Mexican Institute of  
Cinematography (IMCINE, in  
Spanish)


Mexican producer and director. Her productions include "Familia de medianoche" (2019) and "El General" (2009).

In 2017, she co-founded the independent media production company No Ficción with Elena Fortes and Cinépolis. "Retiro" (2019) is her debut feature film, which received the Ambulante Award at the 2019 Morelia Film Festival.

\*The Agency for Digital Transformation and Telecommunications will not have the status of a Secretariat but will report directly to the Presidency.


# Who's who?

## Rosa Icela Rodríguez - Secretariat of the Interior




She coordinates the cabinet and acts as a link with the other branches of government (Legislative and Judicial). In the president's absence, she temporarily assumes her duties. With a degree in Journalism and over 31 years of experience in public service, she has served as the Secretary of Security and Citizen Protection in AMLO's administration since 2020. Previously, she was the Secretary of Government and a member of the Security Cabinet in Mexico City from 2018 to 2020 during Sheinbaum's tenure.

## Marcelo Ebrard - Secretariat of Economy




He holds a degree in International Relations and is a specialist in Public Administration. He has worked closely with AMLO on several occasions throughout his career. Initially, he served as the Secretary of Economic Development and Public Security during López Obrador's tenure as head of government in what was then the Federal District. He later became his Secretary of Foreign Affairs until June 2023. His current goal is to attract investments, promote nearshoring, and create regional development hubs.

## Rogelio Ramírez de la O - Secretariat of Finance and Public Credit




Economist. He served as Secretary of Finance and Public Credit during AMLO's administration from 2021 to 2024 and has been reappointed for Sheinbaum's administration for an indefinite term. His goal is to continue the economic policy of former President López Obrador. He aims to reduce the deficit to 3% of GDP, maintain macroeconomic stability and fiscal prudence, and improve communication with investors and credit rating agencies. Additionally, he plans to present the 2025 budget without increasing taxes.

## Juan Ramón de la Fuente - Secretariat of Foreign Affairs



Surgeon. He served as Mexico's Permanent Representative to the United Nations (UN) from 2018 to 2023. He was the coordinator of Sheinbaum's government transition team, collaborating in his role by coordinating public dialogues with business leaders, civil society members, academics, and the general public.

## David Kershenobich - Secretariat of Health



Surgeon with a specialty in Internal Medicine and Gastroenterology, and Doctor of Medicine from the University of London. He served as General Director of the National Institute of Medical Sciences and Nutrition Salvador Zubirán from June 2012 to 2022. He was also Secretary of the General Health Council and President of the National Academy of Medicine.

# Who's who?

## Omar García Harfuch - Secretariat of Security and Citizen Protection

He holds a degree in Law and Public Security. He served as the head of the Secretariat of Citizen Security of Mexico City until September 2023, during Sheinbaum's administration. His goal is to implement his security plan from CDMX at the federal level, addressing the causes of violence, strengthening the National Guard, and enhancing intelligence and coordination among the states.

## Marath Bolaños - Secretariat of Labor and Social Welfare

He holds a degree in International Relations. In 2023, he was appointed as Secretary of Labor and Social Welfare in AMLO's administration, a position he will continue to hold under Sheinbaum's government.

## Ariadna Montiel - Secretariat of Welfare

She studied Architecture at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM, in Spanish). She served as Secretary of Welfare during AMLO's administration (2022-2024) and retained this position under Sheinbaum's government. From 2015 to 2018, she was a federal deputy, being part of Morena's first parliamentary group. She began her political career in the PRD.

## Alicia Bárcena - Secretariat of Environment and Natural Resources

Biologist with a Master's in Administration, she has a background in diplomacy and international organizations. She served as Mexico's Ambassador to Chile from 2022 to 2023 and was the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) from 2008 to 2022. Additionally, she was Secretary of Foreign Affairs starting in July 2023 during AMLO's presidency.

## Claudia Curiel de Icaza - Secretariat of Culture

She holds a degree in History and is a Specialist in Arts Education through the Global Leaders Program (GLP). She served as the Secretary of Culture for the Government of Mexico City during Sheinbaum's administration, starting in 2022. Additionally, she is a programmer, producer, and cultural manager with over 20 years of experience in the public, private, and independent sectors.

## Raquel Buenrostro - Secretariat of Public Administration

She holds a degree in Mathematics and a Master's in Economics, with extensive experience in the public sector. She served as Secretary of Economy in AMLO's government (2022-2024). Throughout her career, she has held positions in the Tax Administration Service (SAT, in Spanish), served as Planning and Development Manager at Petróleos Mexicanos (PEMEX), and was Deputy Treasurer for Fiscal Policy in the government of the Federal District, among other roles.

# Who's who?



## Ricardo Trevilla Trejo - Secretariat of National Defense

General of Division with a Staff College diploma. He holds master's degrees in Military Administration for National Security and Defense and in Public Administration. He served as a military attaché and director of Social Communication in the Secretariat during Felipe Calderón's administration, when the war on drugs was declared. He has also fulfilled diplomatic assignments.



## Raymundo Morales - Secretariat of the Navy

Engineer in Naval Sciences. He holds master's degrees in National Security and Naval Administration. Prior to his appointment, he served as General Director of the Interoceanic Corridor of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. He was also the Commander of the dredging vessel ARM "BANDERAS" (ADR 01).



## Luz Elena González Escobar - Secretariat of Energy

Economist with a Master's in Law and Urban Planning. She graduated from the Sustainable Development Leadership Program at El Colegio de México. She served as Secretary of Administration and Finance for Mexico City during Sheinbaum's administration, from 2018 until June 2024. She resigned from her position to join the presidential transition team.



## Ernestina Godoy - Legal Counsel of the Federal Executive Branch

A close figure to Claudia Sheinbaum, she first served as the head of the Attorney General's Office of Mexico City (2018) and later as the Attorney General of Justice. She was elected as a senator for Mexico City and founded several civil society organizations, including the National Association of Lawyers. She has also served as a local and federal deputy on multiple occasions and is one of the founding members of Morena.



## Edna Vega Rangel - Secretariat of Agrarian, Territorial, and Urban

Sociologist with a specialization in Society and Territory. In 2018, she was appointed General Director of the National Housing Commission. She also served as Deputy Secretary of Territorial and Agrarian Planning in the Secretariat of Agrarian, Territorial, and Urban Development from 2022 to 2024. She has held positions in urban development in Mexico City.




## Rosaura Ruiz Gutiérrez - Secretariat of Science, Humanities, Technology, and Innovation

Biologist. From 2018 to 2023, she served as Secretary of Education, Science, Technology, and Innovation of Mexico City during Sheinbaum's tenure as governor. She is a member of the National System of Researchers and was the first female president of the Mexican Academy of Sciences.


# Who's who?

## Julio Berdegú - Secretariat of Agriculture and Rural Development




Agricultural Engineer from the University of Arizona in the U.S. From 2017 to 2022, he served as Regional Representative of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations. He also participated in the Dialogues for Transformation in the area of Rural Development and Food Sovereignty, called by Sheinbaum as part of her presidential campaign.

## Mario Delgado - Secretariat of Public Education




Economist. He is a significant figure within the Morena party, having served as its president from 2020 to 2024. He also acted as the spokesperson for Andrés Manuel López Obrador's presidential campaign in 2018 and was elected as a federal deputy during the LXIV Legislature (2018 - 2021). Additionally, he served as a senator during the LXII Legislature (2012 - 2014) and was the Secretary of Education in Mexico City from 2010 to 2012.

## Jesús Esteva Medina - Secretariat of Infrastructure, Communications, and Transportation




Civil Engineer with a Master's in Structures from UNAM. He served as the head of the Secretariat of Works and Services for Mexico City during Sheinbaum's administration (2018-2024) and was also the Director of Planning and Evaluation of Works in the Works and Conservation Directorate at UNAM.

## Josefina Rodríguez Zamora - Secretariat of Tourism



She holds a degree in Business Administration and a Master's in Senior Management. She served as the Secretary of Tourism for the Government of the State of Tlaxcala from 2021 to 2024. She also acted as Vice President of the Central Zone of the Association of Secretaries of Tourism of Mexico (ASETUR) and was the creator of the destination brand for Tlaxcala, "Tlaxcala, Sí Existe," as well as the "Tlaxcala Brilla" platform.

## Citlalli Hernández - Secretariat of Women



Activist. She served as the Secretary General of Morena until 2024. She also held positions in the Senate, the Chamber of Deputies, and the Economic Culture Fund. She was elected Senator for the 2024-2030 term but requested a leave of absence to take her position in Sheinbaum's cabinet.

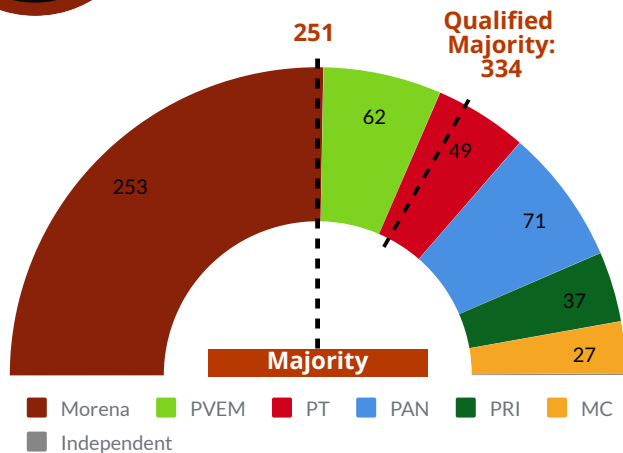
# The ruling party's "Aplanadora" in the Chamber of Deputies

The Sheinbaum administration starts its term by tackling key issues left by her predecessor, Andrés Manuel López Obrador (AMLO), particularly the pending discussion of several **constitutional amendments** that he could not pass due to a lack of congressional support. The main objective of the electoral campaign was to **secure a supermajority (two-thirds) in both chambers**, enabling the approval of these amendments without opposition interference (PAN, PRI, MC). Today, those **numbers are within reach in the Chamber of Deputies, where the ruling coalition (MORENA, PVEM, and PT) controls 364 of the 500 seats**. This gives the government a comfortable margin over the 334 votes required to approve constitutional amendments.



## Chamber of Deputies

Presided by  
**Sergio Gutiérrez Luna**  
(Morena)



The ruling majority in the Chamber has earned the nickname "**Aplanadora**" for its ability to prevent opposition parties from blocking legislative initiatives.

The opposition faces even greater institutional challenges. With **less than 33% of the seats in the Chamber** (currently 27.2%), it **cannot file legal challenges with the Supreme Court to review the constitutionality of an amendment**. The same applies in the Senate. Previously, using this mechanism, the opposition succeeded in overturning proposals such as AMLO's energy and electoral reforms.

Key constitutional amendments already passed by Congress include the **reform of the Judicial Branch** and the transfer of operational and administrative control of the **National Guard to the Secretariat of National Defense**. By the end of 2024, Congress is expected to debate the elimination of the Federal Economic Competition Commission (COFECE, in Spanish) and the Federal Telecommunications Institute (IFT, in Spanish).

# The Senate: Morena's limit?

Although the outlook appears favorable for the ruling party, the Senate poses a potential obstacle. To reach a **qualified majority, 86 out of 128 seats are required**. Initially, Morena and its allies secured 83, falling three senators short. The recent loss of legal status by the Partido de la Revolución Democrática (PRD), following its failure to reach the 3% threshold in the national vote, left its senators without party affiliation. Two of them joined Morena, **bringing the coalition to 85, just one vote away from the qualified majority**.

Has the opposition succeeded in blocking Morena from gaining that final vote? No. The ruling party gained the support of Senator Miguel Ángel Yunes Márquez (PAN - opposition) for both the judicial and National Guard reforms. While Yunes claims he backed the proposals after reviewing them and finding them viable, speculation suggests his decision may have been influenced by a desire to halt a series of judicial investigations against him and his family in Veracruz, where the governor is aligned with the ruling party. Nonetheless, the governor has publicly clashed with the Yunes family.

## Who are the key votes?



**Miguel Ángel Yunes Márquez**

Coming from a family with a political background in Veracruz, he was appointed Secretary of the Senate's Justice Committee after voting in favor of the judicial reform. The Partido Acción Nacional (PAN) is now considering expelling the senator from the party.

## The former PRD Senators



**Araceli Saucedo**

She stated that her decision to join the ruling party is not a personal one, but the result of a consensus among party members following the PRD's loss of legal status.

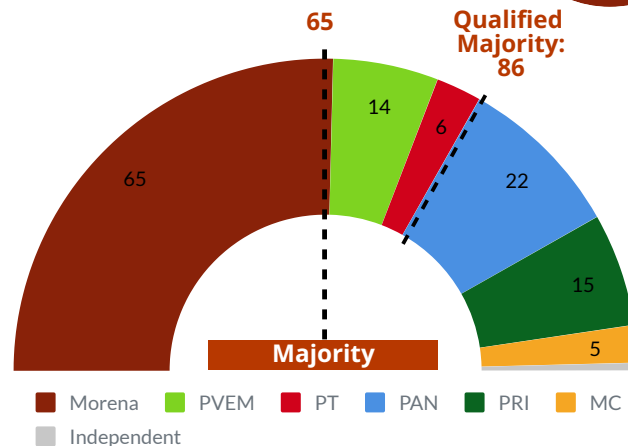


**José Sabino**

The senator explained that his decision to join Morena was based on personal conviction and aligned with his left-wing ideology.

## Senate of the Republic

Presided by Gerardo Fernández Noroña (Morena)



# JUCOPO: Key to the legislative agenda

Morena controls both the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, along with a key body essential for shaping and advancing the legislative agenda: the **Political Coordination Board (JUCOPO, in Spanish)**. While it depends on its allies in Congress to promote more ambitious reforms, its absolute majority (over half of the total seats) grants significant power to the ruling party. Because JUCOPO is structured proportionally, Morena holds the presidency in both chambers, with Ricardo Monreal leading in the Chamber of Deputies and Adán Augusto López in the Senate. Both are aligned with AMLO and have played critical roles as political architects during his administration.

**Why is JUCOPO important?** This body fosters political agreements and consensus to facilitate legislative work, aiming to ensure the advancement of bills in the chambers. It includes the coordinators of the parliamentary groups, who are key figures within their respective parties. Given its structure, JUCOPO serves as the primary platform for **dialogue to determine which topics will be included in the legislative agenda and the work calendar**. Additionally, it is responsible for defining the composition of legislative committees. Morena's dominance enhances its influence in the decision-making process.

In the legislative agenda set forth, priority will be given to advancing the constitutional amendments proposed by AMLO before the end of his presidency. Initiatives presented by President Sheinbaum related to labor and gender parity will also be emphasized. Furthermore, the final months of 2024 will focus on discussions regarding the 2025 budget, which the Executive must submit by November 15 at the latest.

## JUCOPO of Deputies

### Ricardo Monreal (Morena)

A close figure to AMLO since the beginning of his political career. He held the same position in the Senate during the previous Congress.

He is recognized for his skill in negotiating agreements with the opposition, focusing on the approval of bills that enjoy broad consensus, regardless of the ideological differences among parliamentary groups.

An example of this was the swift approval in the Chamber of Deputies at the beginning of October of the "Silla Law" bill, which recognizes workers' right to rest during their work hours. His intention is for the reform to eliminate entities such as the IFT and COFECE to occur by the end of this year.

## JUCOPO of the Senate

### Adán Augusto López (Morena)

Before holding a seat in the Senate in this Legislature, López served as AMLO's Secretary of the Interior and has maintained a notably close relationship with the former president.

Like Monreal, López is known for his skill in negotiating and resolving disagreements with the opposition.

He is credited with securing the "86th vote" needed to pass the judicial reform in the Senate, following reports that Senator Yunes Márquez had engaged with the ruling party after a meeting with López and President Sheinbaum.

# The Approval of Local Legislatures: The Final Step in a Constitutional Amendment

The approval of constitutional amendments in Mexico relies heavily on the control of local governments. After receiving approval from the federal Congress, reforms require support from at least **17 of the 32 local legislatures as the final step before being enacted by the Executive Branch.**

Before the June 2 elections, **Morena governed 21 states, which increased to 23 when including its allies.** In the recent elections, 9 governorships were contested, of which 6 were held by Morena: Mexico City, Chiapas, Morelos, Puebla, Tabasco, and Veracruz.

Following the electoral results, the ruling coalition not only retained these 6 governorships but also won Yucatán (previously controlled by the PAN), **bringing its total to 24 governorships.**

These victories have solidified the ruling party's position nationally, strengthening Claudia Sheinbaum's leadership as president while ensuring majorities in Congress and maintaining significant influence over state governorships and legislatures across much of the country.



Distribution of local governments:

- **PAN:** Aguascalientes; Chihuahua; Guanajuato; and Querétaro
- **PRI:** Durango and Coahuila
- **MC:** Jalisco and Nuevo León
- **PVEM:** San Luis Potosí
- **Morena:** rest of the country

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