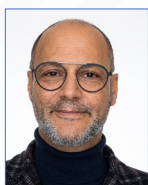


Generative Artificial Intelligence in South American newsrooms: mapping adoption and uses (2023–2025)

Inteligencia artificial generativa en las redacciones sudamericanas: mapeo de la adopción y los usos (2023-2025)

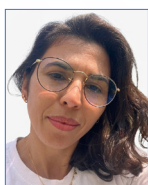
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ABSTRACT: Objective. This study analyzes how generative artificial intelligence is being incorporated into newsrooms in South America, identifying forms of use, purposes, and implications for journalistic processes and communication practices. **Methodology.** The research adopts an exploratory and qualitative approach, combining a systematic review of the literature, a review of gray literature, cartography, and content analysis. The study is based on an analysis of 32 news organizations in ten South American countries between 2023 and 2025, considering publicly available institutional documents, reports, policies, and journalistic coverage related to the adoption of generative AI. **Results and Conclusions.** The analysis identifies recurring patterns of technological adoption and proposes a model of incorporation structured around three main dimensions: audience mediation, production support, and political-institutional practices. These dimensions include applications such as chatbots, automated summaries, content generation, writing support tools, fact-checking systems, transparency policies, and professional training initiatives. The results suggest that generative AI in South American journalism is being institutionalized both as a production tool and as a communication interface that reshapes relationships with the public and practices in newsrooms. **Original contribution.** The study presents one of the first regional mappings of the adoption of generative AI in South American journalism and proposes an analytical model that explains how the technology is being institutionalized in news organizations within the South American context.

Keywords: generative artificial intelligence; journalism; journalistic innovation; South America.

RESUMEN: Propósito. Este estudio analiza cómo se está incorporando la inteligencia artificial generativa en las redacciones periodísticas de América del Sur, identificando formas de uso, finalidades e implicaciones para los procesos periodísticos y las prácticas de comunicación. **Metodología.** La investigación adopta un enfoque exploratorio y cualitativo, combinando la revisión sistemática de la literatura, la revisión de la literatura gris, la cartografía y el análisis de contenido. El estudio se basa en el análisis documental de 32 organizaciones de noticias en diez países sudamericanos entre 2023 y 2025, teniendo en cuenta documentos institucionales, informes, políticas y cobertura periodística disponibles públicamente relacionados con la adopción de la IA generativa. **Resultados y conclusiones.** El análisis identifica patrones recurrentes de adopción tecnológica y propone un modelo de incorporación estructurado en torno a tres dimensiones principales: mediación de la audiencia, apoyo a la producción y prácticas político-institucionales. Estas dimensiones incluyen aplicaciones como chatbots, resúmenes automatizados, generación de contenido, herramientas de apoyo a la redacción, sistemas de verificación de datos, políticas de transparencia e iniciativas de formación profesional. Los resultados sugieren que la IA generativa en el periodismo sudamericano se está institucionalizando tanto como herramienta de producción como interfaz comunicativa que remodela las relaciones con el público y las prácticas en las redacciones. **Aporte original.** El estudio presenta uno de los primeros mapeos regionales de la adopción de la IA generativa en el periodismo sudamericano y propone un modelo analítico que explica cómo se está institucionalizando la tecnología en las organizaciones de noticias dentro del contexto de América del Sur.

Palabras clave: inteligencia artificial generativa; periodismo; innovación periodística; América del Sur.

1. Introducción

El Generative Artificial Intelligence (GenAI) is being integrated into newsrooms around the world, especially after the public release of large language models, such as ChatGPT, in late 2022. These technologies are transforming news production routines globally (Cazzamatta & Sarisakaloglu, 2025). Despite its growing adoption, there is a disparity in academic production on the technology in the Global North and Global South, which makes this discussion particularly relevant for understanding the dynamics of the region.

The adoption of generative AI in South American media is marked by a paradox between recognition of the technology's potential and the challenges to its full realization. Its implementation faces significant structural barriers that create a dependence on the "Global North," particularly in relation to technology companies that develop tools outside the region (Pinilla Escobar & Valle Jiménez, 2025). Many innovation and fact-checking initiatives depend on funding and programs from companies such as Google and Meta, which raises questions about editorial autonomy and long-term sustainability (Pinto & Barbosa, 2024). Despite this general scenario, there are specific niches and organizations, often digital natives or large media outlets, that are leading innovation with concrete uses of generative AI.

However, technology has always been present in journalism, with journalists interacting with technological means. In newsrooms, human-machine interaction is characterized by a form of collaboration in which humans and machines complement each other's capabilities. Machines can process large-scale datasets and perform repetitive tasks efficiently, while humans retain an advantage in complex communication, including the ability to deal with unforeseen situations and to interpret broader social contexts (Diakopoulos, 2019).

In this scenario, this article seeks to answer the following research question: how is generative artificial intelligence being incorporated into newsrooms in South America, and what structural patterns of use can be identified in this process of technological adoption? Despite the growing presence of technology in journalistic practices, there is still little systematization about how these processes are occurring in the region, what purposes guide their application, and how organizations communicate or institutionalize the use of these tools.

Consequently, the objective of this research is to identify and analyze the incorporation of GenAI within South American newsrooms by examining its practical applications, underlying purposes, and structural dimensions. To this end, the study observes experiences in ten South American countries: Brazil, Argentina, Ecuador, Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Peru, Colombia, Venezuela, and Bolivia, from 2023 to 2025, seeking to map recurring patterns of use and understand how the technology is being institutionalized in the regional context. In two countries, Guyana and Suriname, no records were found.

The research adopts an exploratory and qualitative approach, combining a literature review, systematic literature review, cartography, and content analysis.

Through a documentary analysis of 32 newsrooms exhibiting public evidence of generative AI use, the study identifies recurring patterns that allow us to propose an analytical model for incorporating the technology in the region.

Based on this survey, an analytical model is proposed that allows us to understand technology as an element that reconfigures communication processes based on three dimensions related to (1) audience mediation, (2) production support, and (3) political-institutional.

2. South American context

South America is characterized by its vast territory and its marked cultural and linguistic diversity. The region comprises 12 sovereign countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guyana, Paraguay, Peru, Suriname, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

In the context of South American journalism, a major milestone was the emergence of digitally native media outlets, which proliferated in the mid-1990s amid a climate of media concentration and cronyism in traditional media. These initiatives sought to consolidate independent journalism, guided by a challenge to the status quo (Harlow, 2022). Inspired by El Faro, in El Salvador, Latin America's first major digital-native media outlet, the earliest examples of such initiatives in South America include La Encuesta (1996) and Pueblo Continente (1996) in Peru, El Mostrador (2000) in Chile, and Infobae (2002) in Argentina. However, it was not until 2010 that these digital platforms began to expand and gain momentum in the region (Salaverría *et al.*, 2019).

This quest for autonomy, combined with structural barriers, such as the lack of effective freedom of information laws or the availability of government data in unstructured formats, has forced media outlets to innovate through collaborative and transnational data journalism (de-Lima-Santos *et al.*, 2023). Furthermore, as Salaverría and de-Lima-Santos (2021) point out, many journalists in Latin America share practical experience in data and journalism, enabling them to develop projects with fewer resources.

The adoption of Artificial Intelligence (AI) represents a natural evolution of this data-driven culture (DalBen Furtado, 2024), and innovation in the creation of journalistic content using AI has moved beyond the initial phases of automation and data expansion, entering the phase of generative AI, characterized by the creation of content based on large natural language processing models (Zuazo, 2023).

In this Latin American context, AI also serves as a tool for research and “algorithmic gatekeeping,” in which code is used to select, process, and prioritize information and events (DalBen Furtado, 2022).

The practical application of AI has been intensifying in South America, driven by tools developed in newsrooms across various countries. This advancement is accompanied by a critical stance that rejects the technological determinism imposed by Big Tech companies, instead advocating for the centrality of the human factor through continuous system oversight (DalBen Furtado, 2024). In other words, although machines process large volumes of data, fact-checking, contextualization, and final writing remain the work of journalists.

3. Theoretical framework

3.1. Innovation in journalism and adoption of emerging technologies

According to Pavlik (2000), journalism is influenced by technological change in at least four areas: the way journalists do their work; news content; the structure and organization of newsrooms; and the relationships between news organizations, journalists, and their various audiences.

Among the most recent technological changes, generative AI has been causing profound transformations in journalism, as it has begun to act directly in the production of journalistic content, bringing opportunities, but also ethical challenges related to the transparency of algorithm, data privacy, and responsibility for AI-generated content (Sonni *et al.*, 2024).

In response to these challenges, journalists have increasingly emphasized the need to regulate the use of AI in newsrooms. According to García de Torres *et al.* (2025), there is strong support within the profession for the development and publication of specific guidelines for this technology as safeguards against unethical practices.

Although many organizations have released AI guidelines, these documents still contain “blind spots”. They often lack clear provisions regarding sanctions for violations, technical limitations related to algorithmic oversight, and guidance on collaborations with technology providers. Moreover, issues concerning technological dependence and the preservation of editorial independence remain insufficiently addressed (Becker *et al.*, 2025).

GenAI also poses risks to the accuracy of information. Consequently, there appears to be a consensus on the need to establish verification protocols and ensure human oversight in IA-assisted journalistic process (Lopezosa *et al.*, 2024; Becker *et al.*, 2025).

In this scenario, newsrooms have sought to adapt through new forms of content presentation and problem-solving. According to Pavlik (2023), technologies such as generative AI can be relevant for improving the quality and efficiency of journalistic and media work, especially in relation to time and resource constraints.

The discussion about these transformations falls within the field of innovation. Derived from the Latin “innovare” (to incorporate the new), the term “innovation” is associated with new combinations, which can happen in various ways in journalism. For Martins (2018), “innovation in journalism can be understood in certain aspects, whether in narrative forms, production processes, technological and/or interactive devices, or even in the stages of circulation and consumption of information.” (p.37) Although innovation is a social and symbolic phenomenon, the author argues that it is through “technological interfaces and new media that innovation is most clearly evident” (*idem*, p.37) in the field of communication.

In terms of production routines, Perreault *et al.* (2025) point out that many journalists understand AI as a tool for performing “low journalism,” functions that do not require in-depth contextual analysis, allowing human journalists to devote themselves to “high journalism,” which involves empathy and verification of interpretation. Similarly, Thäsler-Kordonouri & Koliska (2025) describe a collaborative scenario in which AI is used strategically under human supervision as an assistant for routine tasks, while editorial authority remains with journalists.

These transformations, however, are not restricted to production practices. In many contexts, the adoption of AI is driven by economic precariousness and the need to do more with fewer resources (Munoriyarwa & de-Lima-Santos, 2025). In the Global South, AI is viewed with pragmatic optimism to overcome resource and infrastructure shortages. At the same time, dependence on proprietary tools developed by large technology companies, such as OpenAI and Google, raises concerns about the growing technological and economic dependence of journalistic organizations on platforms (Malar & Saad Corrêa, 2025).

Beyond the productive and economic dimensions, AI introduces new ways of thinking in newsrooms, generating what Møller and Thylstrup (2025) call “epistemic friction” between journalism and data science. The tension arising from work at the boundaries of journalism is not a new phenomenon

(Carlson & Lewis, 2015), but the incorporation of algorithmic systems requires a new translation of journalistic values, such as the definition of what constitutes news, into data logic, creating an “algorithmic intuition” in which editorial decisions are influenced by metrics of accuracy and probability. This process alters the traditional intuition of journalists and reconfigures the foundations of journalistic knowledge. The increasing weight of technology may prompt shifts in the epistemological principles of journalism due to the growing integration of professionals with more technical backgrounds in newsrooms (Parasie & Dagiral, 2012), however, Zelizer (2019) argues that it is journalism that gives meaning to technology.

Generative AI is thus understood here not only as a tool, but as a communicating agent (Guzman, 2018), with the ability to influence the production process, even though it cannot be attributed with intentionality (Thäsler-Kordonouri & Koliska, 2025). Human-machine interaction has therefore evolved from a relationship between “user” and “tool” into a dynamic in which the machine increasingly acts as a communicator. This shift requires journalists to adapt the ways in which they collaborate with, supervise, and disclose these interactions.

In this scenario, technology has triggered an epistemic crisis that can also be seen as an opportunity for journalists to reaffirm their authority (Perreault *et al.*, 2025). AI operates based on probabilistic logic and pattern recognition, but does not always produce correct results, known as hallucinations (Maleki *et al.*, 2024), which differs from the journalistic search for factual and verifiable truth.

Recent studies have explored the role of AI-driven virtual assistants in supporting newsroom practices and editorial planning. A model proposed by Piccinin, Paulino and Carneiro dos Santos (2026) demonstrates how different levels of algorithmic control and intervention can influence agenda-setting processes and journalistic decision-making. While the results highlight the potential for increased efficiency and innovation, the authors also emphasize the ethical and operational implications associated with editorial autonomy and the integration of automated systems into journalistic workflows.

The adoption of generative AI leads to co-creation models in which agency is shared between humans and machines (Lamprou *et al.*, 2025). This context demands the formulation of new editorial policies based on transparency and mandatory human oversight (Malar & Saad Corrêa, 2025).

These issues highlight challenges that have not yet been resolved by the field. Although Pavlik (2000) constitutes the theoretical starting point of this study, the incorporation of GenAI reveals new layers of complexity that go beyond the transformations initially proposed by the author. Thus, we observe the impacts on the four areas he outlined, but also the broadening of the debate to understand AI not only as a technological tool, but also as an agent and communicator capable of influencing the epistemological foundations of journalism.

4. Methodology

This study follows an exploratory and qualitative approach and aims to understand the paths of adoption of generative AI in South American journalism. Initially, a systematic review was conducted to identify and classify the ways in which the technology was incorporated into newsrooms in South America between 2023 and 2025. Complementarily, to compose the corpus of analysis, due to the recent incorporation of technology that evolves more rapidly than the cycle of academic publications, we chose to combine the systematic review of scientific literature with the analysis of gray literature and institutional documents, following methodological recommendations for a more relevant study, providing a more complete view of the available evidence (Mahood *et al.*, 2013). The inclusion of grey literature was particularly relevant in this study because many newsroom innovations involving generative AI are documented primarily in institutional reports and journalism industry publications rather than in academic literature. Considering these sources allowed a broader identification of emerging practices.

The systematic review was conducted in the Scopus, Web of Science, Scielo, and DOAJ databases, with searches performed on January 8, 2026, with the aim of identifying studies on the use of generative AI in South American journalism. The inclusion criteria for the material were: (i) thematic relevance;

(ii) geographical scope; and (iii) open access. Only works that addressed the use of GenAI in South American countries were considered. After removing duplicates and applying the criteria, 20 articles (n=20) were selected that provided a theoretical basis and initial empirical evidence on relevant media outlets and experiences in the region. This stage did not aim to exhaust the literature, but rather to identify initial evidence to guide further documentary research.

Table 1. Search parameters in the databases

Database	Search date	Field searched	Search string	Index.	Sel.
Scopus	08/01/2026	Title/Abstract/ Keywords	(journalis*) AND (...) ¹	14	1
Web of Science	08/01/2026	Title/Abstract/ Keywords	(journalis*) AND (...) ¹	28	13
SciELO	08/01/2026	All fields	("jornalismo" OR...) ²	184	2
DOAJ	08/01/2026	All fields with the subjects "Social Sciences" and "Technology" selected	"IA generativa"	74	4

Source: Authors.

Furthermore, other sources of gray literature were consulted such as public policies on AI use published by media outlets, institutional reports, public records from innovation labs, interviews and institutional reports from journalists and managers, and news published by organizations specializing in journalism. Only institutions recognized for their authority in the field of journalism were considered, such as: Latam Journalism Review (Knight Center), International News Media Association (INMA), World Association of News Publishers (WAN-IFRA), JournalismAI (London School of Economics), International Journalists' Network (IJNet), Observatório da Imprensa, DW Akademie, Asociación de Entidades Periodísticas Argentinas (Adepa), and Associação de Jornalismo Digital. The inclusion of these sources is in line with recommended practices for reviews in areas where empirical evidence is mostly found outside formal academic literature (Mahood *et al.*, 2013).

Table 2. Identifying the use of generative AI in South America (2023-2025)

Countries	Newsrooms
Argentina	0221, Clarín, Chequeado, La Nación, Todo Jujuy, Infobae, La Voz del Interior, La Gaceta
Bolívia	Muy Waso
Brasil	A Gazeta, Agência Pública, Agência Tatu, Aos Fatos, Correio Sabiá, Farolete, Folha de S.Paulo, Núcleo Jornalismo, O Estadão, O Globo, UOL, Ambiental Media, AzMina
Chile	El Mostrador
Colômbia	Cuestión Pública, La Silla Vacía, El Tiempo
Equador	El Comercio
Paraguai	El Surtidor
Peru	El Comercio, Ojo Público
Uruguai	Montevideo Portal
Venezuela	Connectas

Source: Authors.

¹ The following keywords were used in Scopus and Web of Science: (journalis*) AND ("AI assistant" OR "LLM" OR "LLMs" OR "artificial intelligence" OR "genai" OR "generative ai" OR "generative artificial intelligence" OR "large language model" OR "large language models") AND ("Latin America" OR "Brasil" OR "Argentina" OR "Chile" OR "Colômbia" OR "Uruguai" OR "Paraguai" OR "Bolívia" OR "Peru" OR "Equador" OR "Venezuela" OR "Suriname" OR "Guiana")

With this data, cartography was used as a research method, providing a framework for monitoring processes as they unfold (Costa, 2014). A documentary mapping of the identified uses was then carried out through systematic visits to the media outlets institutional websites, analysis of AI usage policies, products made available to the public, and documentary records. The sampling was theoretically guided by the documentary evidence found, allowing the identification of recurring patterns of technology incorporation.

The collected documents were subjected to content analysis (Bardin, 2016). The analysis was conducted by one of the authors, who was responsible for organizing the corpus, coding the data, and initially developing the analytical categories. Throughout the study, the analytical matrix and the document corpus remained accessible to the other authors via Microsoft Excel, allowing for the validation of codes and the consolidation of the analytical model.

The methodological process was structured around the three successive stages proposed by the method: pre-analysis, exploration of the material, and processing of the results. The pre-analysis phase involved organizing the data. Initially, a systematic review was conducted to identify the earliest uses of GenAI in the region. Next, a search of the gray literature, including institutional documents, AI policies, news articles, product pages, and other public records, was conducted to map additional and more recent applications. This scan resulted in the final corpus, comprising 32 organizations. During this stage, the texts were also skim-read to gather initial impressions and guidance, which led to the preparation of an interpretive summary of each organization's use of technology. From there, a reflective process was conducted on the material, from which the categories emerged empirically.

In the next stage, the exploration of the material, an analytical matrix was structured to record the following variables: country, media outlet, organization size, existence of an AI policy, evidence of AI use, year of recorded technology use, and the respective supporting references. Documentary instances of the institutionalized use of generative AI (such as the release of editorial guidelines, chatbots, or automatic summarization tools) was defined as the unit of analysis; these were subsequently aggregated by media outlet, using the phrase or topic as the unit of record.

This material served as the basis for creating 11 categories assigned according to the observed practices, detailed in Table 3. Finally, during the results processing stage, these categories were grouped into three macro-dimensions, adhering to the criteria of mutual exclusion and relevance: public engagement, production support, and political-institutional. In addition, the data were organized into tables included in the article, which allow for detailed inferences and interpretations in the results analysis section.

The study relies exclusively on public and verifiable documentation, excluding direct observation and internal records of newsrooms operation. Consequently, non-publicized uses may not have been captured. Furthermore, the 2023 - 2025 timeframe focuses on the early stages of adoption, which characterizes the study as a cartographic record of the initial phase of technological incorporation.

² ("jornalismo" OR "periodismo" OR "news" OR "prensa") AND ("inteligência artificial" OR "artificial intelligence" OR "IA generativa" OR "automação")

Table 3. Model for the incorporation of generative AI in South American news outlets between 2023 and 2025

Forms of incorporation Generative AI (macro-dimensions)	Forms of use (categories)	Code	Definition	Quant. newsrooms	(%)
1. Audience mediation	Chatbot	CH	AI assistant for specific problem solving with direct interaction and responses based on vehicle content	9	28,1%
	Summaries	SU	content summaries produced to facilitate consumption and keep the reader up to date	9	28,1%
2. Production support	Automatic content generation	GE	initial draft content for newsletters, social media, etc.	20	62,5%
	Internal use	IN	support for journalists in routine tasks (transcription, translation, grammar review)	19	59,3%
	Images	IM	production of visual elements	12	37,5%
	Data	DA	automation based on databases	12	37,5%
	Mediated use of generative AI	NA	used as a journalistic narrative element, acting as a narrator, presenter, and cultural mediator of content	3	9,3%
3. Political-institutional	Fact-checking	FC	combating misinformation	3	9,3%
	Security/anonymousization	SE	protection of journalists in authoritarian regimes and source privacy	1	3,1%
	Transparency	TRA	communication of AI use to the public, often through formal policies	21	65,6%
	Training	TRE	training professional in the ethical and technical use of technology	7	21,8%

Source: Authors.

Note: (%) represents the penetration rate of each category over the total sample of newsrooms (N = 32). Categories are not mutually exclusive.

Based on the analysis, an explanatory model for the use of AI in the region was proposed (see supplementary material), considering 32 newsrooms from ten South American countries, identifying the media outlet, the type of media outlet, the year the technology was incorporated, policies of use, and the categories present.

5. Analysis of results and discussion

The analysis of the data allows us to identify three institutionalized and publicized dimensions of the incorporation of generative AI in South American media outlets: (a) audience mediation; (b) production support; and (c) political-institutional. These dimensions not only dialogue with the four areas proposed by Pavlik (2000) but also reconfigure them considering AI as a communicating agent in the journalistic process (Guzman, 2018) and as an important, though not unique or sufficient, element for structuring innovation processes in journalism (Martins, 2018).

The model proposed in this research contributes to ongoing discussions about the role of artificial intelligence in journalism. By identifying how generative AI operates across different dimensions, the findings support perspectives that view AI not only as a technological tool but also as an actor that influences communicational processes and newsroom dynamics.

In South American newsrooms, the first institutionalized and publicly disclosed uses focus on audience mediation and the political-institutional dimension. One explanation for this would be that production occurs internally and not all applications become public.

5.1. Audience mediation

Regarding audience mediation, the data in Table 3 reveal a symmetrical adoption pattern between the two categories (nine outlets each). The implementation of virtual assistants and chatbots (CH), designed to solve specific problems and enable direct interaction with the public based on the outlet's own content, is concentrated primarily in newsrooms in Brazil with five initiatives. Argentina has two initiatives. Colombia and Paraguay each have one.

As for chatbots, various media outlets in South America have already adopted them into their operations. In Argentina, notable examples include Chequeado and La Nación; in Brazil, A Gazeta, Aos Fatos, Núcleo Jornalismo, O Estadão, and Ambiental Media; in Colombia, La Silla Vacía; and in Paraguay, El Surtidor.

These tools serve as an interface for engaging with the public and perform various functions. Some are based on the outlet's own editorial content, such as Leia (Estadão), NuclitoGPT (Núcleo Jornalismo), and SillaIA (La Silla Vacía). Others are geared toward specific niches: they aid with topics such as income tax (A Gazeta's "IA Tá no Lucro") or offer information on sporting events (La Nación's "Olímpia"). There are also assistants focused on fact-checking and combating misinformation, such as Chequeabot (Chequeado), Fátima (Aos Fatos), and Capí (Ambiental Media), as well as innovative storytelling formats, such as Eva (El Surtidor).

The creation of automated summaries (SU) to facilitate quick news consumption shows a more fragmented geographic distribution, present in five countries: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, and Peru with a focus on traditional media, encompassing six out of nine newsrooms. This data suggests that South American newsrooms have been seeking conversational engagement and information summarization as strategies for audience retention.

Table 4. News outlets classified under the Audience Mediation category

Chatbot (CH)	Chequeado and La Nación (Argentina); A Gazeta, Aos Fatos, Núcleo Jornalismo, O Estadão and Ambiental Media (Brasil); La Silla Vacía (Colômbia); El Surtidor (Paraguai).
Summaries (SU)	AzMina (Brasil); El Mostrador (Chile); El Tiempo (Colômbia); El Comercio (Peru).

Source: Authors.

This type of use directly modifies the news consumption experience, shifting AI from the internal field of production to the visible space of the relationship with the audience. This movement dialogues with the dimension proposed by Pavlik (2000) regarding the relationships between journalistic organizations and their audiences but expands this reading by positioning AI as a communicational interface between the news outlet and the reader.

From Guzman's (2018) perspective, AI is no longer just a tool but acts as a communicator. At the same time, this use highlights a form of innovation centered on the circulation and consumption of information, as discussed by Martins (2018), indicating that technological incorporation reconfigures the way journalism presents itself to the public.

5.2. Production support

Regarding the production support dimension, the data in Table 3 show that South American journalism is seeking to optimize workflows. Automatic content generation (GE), focused on drafts for newsletters and social media, leads the use of this dimension (20 media outlets), driven primarily by the Brazilian market with ten initiatives. Internal use (IN) for daily tasks supporting reporters (transcription, translation and grammar review) comes next, present in 19 media outlets. At an intermediate level and with identical adoption (12 newsrooms) are the production of visual elements (IM) and database-driven automation (DA). Finally, the incorporation of generative AI as an element of the journalistic narrative itself (NA), acting as a narrator or presenter, is the most nascent practice, limited to just three media outlets.

Table 5. News outlets classified under the Production support category

Automatic content generation (GE)	0221, Chequeado, Todo Jujuy and Infobae (Argentina); Muy Waso (Bolivia), Agência Pública, Agência Tatu, Aos Fatos, Farolete, Folha de S.Paulo, Núcleo Jornalismo, O Estadão, O Globo, UOL and AzMina (Brasil); Cuestión Pública (Colômbia); El Comercio and Ojo Público (Peru); Montevideo Portal (Uruguai); Connectas (Venezuela).
Internal use (IN)	0221, Chequeado, La Nación, Todo Jujuy, Infobae, La Voz del Interior and La Gaceta (Argentina); Muy Waso (Bolivia); Agência Pública, Agência Tatu, Aos Fatos, Correio Sabiá, Folha de S.Paulo, Núcleo Jornalismo, O Estadão, O Globo, UOL and AzMina (Brasil); Montevideo Portal (Uruguai).
Images (IM)	Chequeado and Todo Jujuy (Argentina); Agência Pública, Agência Tatu, Correio Sabiá, Folha de S.Paulo, Núcleo Jornalismo, O Estadão, O Globo, UOL and AzMina (Brasil); El Comercio (Ecuador).
Data (DA)	Chequeado (Argentina); Agência Pública, Agência Tatu, Aos Fatos, Farolete, Núcleo Jornalismo, O Estadão, O Globo and AzMina (Brasil); Cuestión Pública, La Silla Vacía and El Tiempo (Colômbia).
Mediated use of generative AI (NA)	El Surtidor (Paraguay); Ojo Público (Peru); Connectas (Venezuela).

Source: Authors.

The data confirm the academic literature. Support for content production is one of the most common uses in literature, such as transcription and translation (Yaguana-Romero et al., 2025; Weitkamp et al., 2026), news automation and hybrid functions (Sonni et al., 2024), the generation of drafts for social networks and newsletters, image generation, and support for database analysis. These uses were identified in virtually all the media outlets analyzed, except for six, for which it was not possible to verify their use.

In some cases, AI takes over the narrative, such as the chatbot Eva, from El Surtidor, in Paraguay, used to tell the real story of a source and protect their identity; also the case of Connectas, from Venezuela, which through the Operación Retuit initiative, used AI as a journalistic anchor to maintain the safety of professionals in a censored environment (Canavilhas et al., 2025), and Peruvian Ojo Público, which developed Quispe Chequea, in which technology acts as a cultural mediator by translating content into indigenous languages.

These examples demonstrate how the South American context shapes the application of technology to respond to local problems, such as journalist safety, censorship, and linguistic diversity. In this instance we observe Pavlik's (2000) focus on how journalists and news are evolving, while simultaneously highlighting the innovation in production processes described by Martins (2018).

5.3. Political-institutional dimension

This dimension is related to changes in the structure or organization of newsrooms (Pavlik, 2000) involving combating misinformation, transparency, and professional training. The political-institutional dimension shows that concern about technological governance is the most frequently cited aspect among South American media outlets, led by the transparency (TRA) category. Public communication regarding the use of AI was adopted by 21 media outlets, establishing itself as the most common concern across the entire regional sample (Table 3). In contrast, the other institutional

fronts operate at significantly lower levels. Professional training (TRE) focused on the ethical and technical use of technology was identified in seven media outlets, with a strong concentration in Argentina and Brazil. Political niche categories, however, show even lower rates: fact-checking aimed at combating disinformation (FC) occurs in three media outlets, while the security and anonymization (SE) category, focused on protecting reporters in authoritarian regimes and source confidentiality, is the rarest in the study, with only a single occurrence identified on the Venezuelan platform Connectas. This overview indicates that, although public accountability is a near-consensus concern, institutional investment in internal training and digital security is still developing unevenly across the region. For the complete breakdown by media outlet and country, see Table 6.

Table 6. News outlets classified under the Political-institutional category

Fact-checking (FC)	Chequeado (Argentina); Aos Fatos (Brasil); Ojo Público (Peru);
Security/anonymization (SE)	Connectas (Venezuela)
Transparency (TRA)	0221, Clarín, Chequeado, La Nación and Todo Jujuy (Argentina); A Gazeta, Agência Pública, Agência Tatu, Aos Fatos, Correio Sabiá, Farolete, Folha de S.Paulo, Núcleo Jornalismo, O Estadão, O Globo, UOL, Ambiental Media and AzMina (Brasil); El Surtidor (Paraguay); El Comercio (Peru); Connectas (Venezuela).
Training (TRE)	0221, Chequeado and Todo Jujuy (Argentina); Agência Tatu, O Estadão and O Globo (Brasil); El Comercio (Peru).

Source: Authors.

Regarding misinformation, generative AI is used for fact-checking (Canavilhas & Ito, 2025), as exemplified by the media outlets Aos Fatos (Brazil), Chequeado (Argentina), and Quispe Chequea (Peru).

At the same time, there is a concern with transparency, revealing an institutional ethical dimension, because even though some outlets have not published their guidelines, they indicate the use of AI in the products that are part of this analysis. Transparency is treated as one of the fundamental ethical pillars for the adoption of AI in journalism in South America, although its practical application varies significantly between different outlets and countries. In Brazil, there is a tendency, especially among native digital media, to promote transparency through technology sharing. Initiatives such as Núcleo Jornalismo and AzMina not only use AI, but also make their codes, scripts, and APIs available in public repositories, such as GitHub. This “open source” practice is a way to improve the transparency of the news production process and foster a community of algorithmic literacy in the country (Pinto & Barbosa, 2024).

Fact-checking organizations in South America operate under stricter transparency standards than traditional journalism. Organizations such as Chequeado (Argentina) embrace transparency as a core value, detailing the tools and databases used so that the audience can replicate the verification process (Canavilhas & Ito, 2025). In the case of Aos Fatos (Brazil), the use of automation to monitor social media is communicated to guide human editorial decisions, keeping the process clear to the public (Lelo, 2023). Most journalists argue that traceability and transparency should be included in codes of ethics to ensure honesty towards readers (García de Torres *et al.*, 2025).

At the same time, literature points to gaps in the training of journalists in the critical use of AI. The practice of journalism differs from what is taught in communication schools, undermining what can be done in real life (Pinilla Escobar & Valle Jiménez, 2025). However, training should not be merely instrumental. Lopezosa *et al.* (2024) highlights the importance of solid training that combines technical and ethical aspects, promoting critical thinking about the application of AI. It is necessary to know not only how to use it, but when and why to use it, to understand the risks of bias and misinformation (Weitkamp *et al.*, 2026).

In this context, García de Torres *et al.* (2025) point to the existence of a gap in local training, while Zamora (2023) highlights the inadequacy of this preparation in newsrooms. Lopezosa *et al.* (2024),

in turn, defend the need for solid training that articulates technical and ethical dimensions in the use of AI. Despite these recommendations, it is observed that institutional concern with professional training is still limited. Among the 32 media outlets analyzed, only seven mention training or education initiatives related to the use of artificial intelligence in their public documents.

This dimension directly dialogues with the area proposed by Pavlik (2000) regarding the structure of newsrooms but adds an ethical and epistemological layer not originally foreseen, related to trust in knowledge produced in AI-mediated environments.

The patterns described can be seen in supplementary material, which systematizes the use of generative AI in 32 South American news outlets between 2023 and 2025.

The temporal analysis indicates a sequential progression between 2023 and 2025. The year 2023 was characterized by experimentation with initial proofs of concept, occasional use, and isolated cases, primarily centered on chatbots launches and the first AI usage policies. By 2024, there was a product maturation and broader implementation of institutional policies. In 2025, a more consolidated institutionalization of GenAI emerged, marked by high-level partnerships with big tech companies, such as El Comercio (Peru) with Perplexity and Estadão (Brazil) with Gemini for the use of content verified by these platforms.

Brazil stands out as the most mature and diverse ecosystem in the sample. Of the 32 newsrooms, the country is represented by 13 media outlets. In the Brazilian landscape, AI is not limited to large corporations; its use extends to traditional newspapers such as Folha de S. Paulo, O Globo, and Estadão; wide-reaching news portals such as UOL, regional media such as A Gazeta; a strong network of digital-native outlets and independent agencies such as Agência Pública, Agência Tatu, AzMina, Núcleo Jornalismo, Ambiental Mídia, and Correio Sabiá; fact-checking outlets such as Aos Fatos; and local media such as Farolete. The country exhibits complex usage patterns across nearly all dimensions, from in-house production to transparency.

Argentina follows Brazil with eight outlets, three of which (0221, Chequeado, and Todo Jujuy) already incorporate the training category, demonstrating a commitment to the technical and ethical use of the tool. In addition, fact-checking outlets such as Chequeado are present, along with traditional outlets like Clarín and La Nación; large-reach digital native news outlets like Infobae, and regional outlets such as La Voz del Interior and La Gaceta.

Countries such as Bolivia (Muy Waso), Chile (El Mostrador), Ecuador (El Comercio), Paraguay (El Surtidor), Uruguay (Montevideo Portal), and Venezuela (Conectas) have only one outlet listed (see supplementary material). In these locations, it appears that GenAI is still in the early stages of adoption, relying on isolated initiatives.

In general, the adoption of GenAI is not restricted to large media outlets, but is also present in local, hyperlocal, segmented, and fact-checking media. Innovation or AI laboratories also stand out as support and infrastructure for the adoption of technology in some media outlets such as Chequeado, La Gaceta, and La Nación (Argentina), El Comercio (Peru), Núcleo, Aos Fatos, and Agência Tatu (Brazil), and La Silla Vacía (Colombia). O Globo (Brazil) has the Irineu Project, which is not called an AI Laboratory, but is a project to create and develop new artificial intelligence products. Most of these companies, especially the smaller ones and digital natives, receive or have received some type of funding from big tech companies (Pinto & Barbosa, 2024) to develop products or services that also drive their innovation labs.

This shift demonstrates that journalistic innovation extends beyond mere technological adoption: it represents a fundamental organizational restructuring. As an institutional process, GenAI acts not only as a tool, but as a catalyst that reorganizes professional practices, public relationships and the very nature of journalism.

These findings suggest that the incorporation of generative AI in South American newsrooms is not limited to technical experimentation but reflects broader transformations in the institutional organization of journalism. The three dimensions identified in this study (audience mediation, production support and political-institutional practices) indicate that the technology is being

integrated simultaneously at operational, communicational and organizational levels. This reinforces the idea that innovation in journalism cannot be understood solely by the adoption of new tools, but as a process that involves the reconfiguration of professional practices, newsroom structures and audience relationships. In this sense, the South American experience highlights how technological adoption is shaped by contextual factors which influence the ways in which news organizations experiment with and institutionalize GenAI.

6. Conclusion

Moving beyond the initial objective of examining GenAI adoption in South American newsrooms, this study proposes a model for the initial incorporation of this technology between 2023 and 2025. By analyzing 32 media outlets across 10 countries, this study revealed recurring usage patterns categorized into three analytical dimensions: audience mediation, production support, and political-institutional support. These dimensions are formulated not merely as descriptive categories but as explanatory axes of how technology is appropriated within the South American context. The results reveal that the earliest institutionalized and publicly communicated uses are related to audience mediation and the political-institutional dimension.

This shift demonstrates that journalistic innovation, as theorized by Martins (2018), manifests itself not only within news production, but primarily across the modes of circulation, consumption, and legitimization of information. On the other hand, although production support dominates everyday operational routines, many of these applications remain invisible to the reader. This gap suggests that internal automation precedes its openness to the public ecosystem. Theoretically, the proposed three-dimensional model expands Pavlik's (2000) classical frameworks. GenAI transcends the status of a utilitarian technical tool and assumes the role of a communicating agent, as proposed by Guzman (2018), reconfiguring journalistic language and authority. This dynamic is evident when the machine acts as a direct interface for engagement (such as conversational assistants and synthetic narrators), shifting human journalists to a role of supervision, curation, and ethical assurance (adhering to the human-in-the-loop principle). Furthermore, this research sheds light on the South American innovations.

Emblematic cases such as translating fact-checking content into indigenous languages in Peru (Quispe Chequea), protecting and anonymizing professionals in censored environments in Venezuela (Operación Retuit by Connectas), and the movement towards sharing open-source code and APIs by digital-native media in Brazil demonstrate that regional innovation responds to local demands for inclusion, safety, and technical sovereignty. Despite this, the study identifies significant institutional vulnerabilities: there is a clear mismatch between the rapid adoption of technology and the investment in algorithmic governance. Although transparency (TRA) is widely championed in the public discourse of organizations, professional training and ethical education (TRE) were formalized in only 21.8% of the sample.

Although the study has limitations due to its exploratory nature and exclusive use of public sources, the findings provide an unprecedented empirical basis for the region, especially in countries lacking systematic documentation on the subject. The 2023-2025 time frame captures the initial stages of GenAI adoption, indicating a process still in consolidation and subject to rapid evolution.

Despite these limitations, the study contributes a model for GenAI integration in South American journalism. It highlights patterns of use and forms of technological appropriation that reposition technology not merely as a tool but as a structural element reshaping journalistic practices, public relations, and knowledge production in South America.

7. Supplementary material

The supplementary material associated with this article is available at:
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9. Contributions

Roles	Author 1	Author 2	Author 3
Conceptualization	x	x	x
Formal analysis	x	x	x
Fundraising			
Project management		x	
Research	x	x	
Methodology		x	
Data processing	x	x	x
Resources			
Software			
Supervision	x		x
Validation	x	x	x
Data visualization			
Writing - original draft		x	
Writing - review and editing	x		x

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