

Dimension	Adolf Hitler (1922–1939)	Donald Trump (2017–2025)	Nicola Sturgeon (2014–2023)	Giorgia Meloni (2022–2025)	Viktor Orban (2022–2025)
Narrative structure	Circular narrative built around crisis, redemption, and destiny; constant return to themes of humiliation and national rebirth.	Episodic structure centered on personal success and grievance; alternates between victimhood and triumph.	Linear narrative of progress and shared responsibility; focus on governance, collaboration, and social improvement.	Structured around defense and restoration—identity, family, and sovereignty as recurrent triad; alternates moral alarm with reassurance.	Hybrid narrative combining historic continuity and siege mentality; cyclical framing of external threat and national perseverance.
Central theme	National restoration through struggle and purification.	Restoration of greatness through confrontation and self-assertion.	Collective well-being through equality and inclusion.	“Defending the nation” as moral duty; cultural and demographic renewal within Christian civilization.	Protection of sovereignty and Christian Europe; moral defense of “illiberal democracy.”
Enemy construction	Clearly defined external and internal enemies—Jews, communists, political elites.	Ambiguous, shifting enemies—the media, immigrants, political “establishment.”	Avoids antagonistic framing; focuses on institutional cooperation and democratic opposition.	Bureaucratic elites, illegal migrants, ideological “globalists.”	Brussels institutions, George Soros, liberal NGOs, migration networks.
Tone and emotional register	Highly emotional, apocalyptic, and messianic; appeals to fear and transcendence.	Defiant and populist; mixes grievance with self-aggrandizement.	Rational and conciliatory; appeals to empathy and civic duty.	Emotive yet disciplined; patriotic pride, family warmth, moral conviction; blends alarm with reassurance.	Controlled assertiveness; paternal and didactic tone; emotional restraint framed as strength.
Use of pronouns and collective identity	“We” = nation + race; exclusionary and hierarchical.	“We” = followers + loyalists; “they” = traitors.	“We” = inclusive polity; opposition inside the democratic we.	“We” = hard-working families and patriots; “they” = elites detached from real life.	“We” = national majority defending tradition; “they” = cosmopolitan outsiders.
Temporal framing	Mythic past and prophetic future; the present as moral decay to be overcome.	Idealized past (“make America great again”) contrasted with corrupt present.	Present and near future as spaces of shared reform and accountability.	Cyclical time: loss → revival → legacy for children; heritage reclaimed as moral duty.	Long historical arc since national founding; constant vigilance to prevent renewed subjugation.
Relation to violence	Violence as purification and destiny; moralized use of force.	Violence as defensive or justified by betrayal; glorification of toughness.	Violence delegitimized as failure of dialogue.	Condemns illegality yet sanctifies order and deterrence; force framed as civic protection.	Monopolizes legitimate force; delegitimizes protest as disorder; valorizes security apparatus.
Relation to truth and media	Monopolizes truth; propaganda as revelation.	Delegitimizes journalism; truth equated with loyalty.	Defends press freedom and factual accuracy as institutional duty.	Frames criticism as ideological distortion; privileges direct communication and national broadcasters.	Portrays independent media as foreign-influenced; promotes state-aligned “balanced” journalism.
Rhetorical strategy	Repetition, escalation, mythic imagery.	Hyperbole, personalization, emotional oscillation.	Reasoned argument, empathy, procedural appeal.	Tricolon and antithesis; repetition of moral binaries (“normal vs deviant”); rhythm of reassurance.	Didactic parallelism; repetition of dichotomies (“nation vs empire”); fatigue through reiteration.

Democratic indicators (Levitsky & Ziblatt framework)	Violations in all four dimensions—rule rejection, opponent delegitimization, violence tolerance, liberty restriction.	Elevated tension in the same four areas, especially delegitimization and liberty restriction.	Consistent adherence to democratic norms and procedural accountability.	Moderate risk—recurrent opponent delegitimization and selective civil-liberty framing; formal rule acceptance.	Structural erosion—persistent opponent and press delegitimization, institutional capture, and liberty restriction.
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***Table S3. Comparative structure of political speeches.** The qualitative synthesis, performed with ChatGPT-4o, identifies recurring narrative and rhetorical patterns across leaders. Despite contextual differences, Hitler and Trump share an authoritarian dramaturgy marked by crisis, enemy, and redemption motifs, while Sturgeon's discourse remains consistently procedural and inclusive. Meloni exhibits a moralized nationalism framed as cultural restoration, whereas Orban institutionalizes this narrative through sustained delegitimization of opponents and consolidation of "illiberal" governance.*